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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Published Weekly

Meeting at Moscow
An Editorial

The A. P. Decision
By Oswald Garrison Villard

Can Missions in India Be Saved?
By Harold E. Buell

Protestant Reorientation
An Editorial

Speaking of Hymns
By John Haynes Holmes

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In This Issue

HAROLD E. BUELL was formerly on the faculty of Lucknow Christian College, India. A graduate of California Teachers College, the University of Pittsburgh and the Boston University school of theology, Mr. Buell is now assistant minister of the Mount Lebanon Methodist Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD contributes bi-weekly to The Christian Century.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES minister of the Community Church, New York, is a frequent contributor. An article by Dr. Holmes, "What Makes a Good Hymn?" in the issue for June 10, 1942, has been discussed widely in church circles. The article in this issue may be regarded as in a sense a sequel.

ALVA W. TAYLOR formerly secretary of the social service board of the Disciples of Christ, is now on the staff of the Save the Children Federation.

VAN METER AMES is associate professor of philosophy at the University of Cincinnati.

E. K. HIGDON is a secretary of the foreign missions board of the Disciples of Christ. He recently returned from a month's visit in Jamaica.

Coming

What promises to be one of the most exciting journalistic exchanges of the year, when the authors of the two outstanding 1943 volumes in the field of religion review each other's books, will open next week. Dr. A. Campbell Garnett, author of *A Realistic Philosophy of Religion,* will review Reinhold Niebuhr's *The Nature and Destiny of Man.* The following week Dr. Niebuhr will review Dr. Garnett's book.

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

October 27, 1943

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Calendar of Coming Events

Oct. 26, 27. Southern District, Church of the Brethren, Upper Conewago, Pa.
Oct. 26-28. Midwest Meeting, Congregational Christian Missions Council, Columbus, O.
Oct. 27, 28. Western District, Church of the Brethren, Johnstown, Pa.
Oct. 28. Institute on Racial Minorities in a Postwar World, Chicago.
Oct. 28, 29. Regional Conference on Rural Life, Oskaloosa, Ia.
Oct. 29-31. Fellowship of Reconciliation, regional conference, Hollywood, Calif.
Oct. 31. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jay Allen, speaker.
Oct. 31. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Norman Thomas, Speaker.
Oct. 31. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Ferdinand M. Iserman, speaker.
Oct. 31. Community Church, Boston; Gaetano Salvemini, speaker.
Oct. 31. Forum, First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Ill.; J. J. Banninga, speaker.
Nov. 1. Church and Labor Institute, Presbyterian Labor Temple, New York.
Nov. 1. Christian Mission on World Order, Eugene, Ore., Springfield, Mass., Reading, Pa., Cape Girardeau, Mo., Quincy, Ill., Providence, R. I., Sioux Falls, S. D., Houston, Tex., Cleveland, O.
Nov. 2. Christian Mission on World Order, Shreveport, La., Wilmington, Del., Des Moines, Ia., Canton O., Corvallis, Ore., St. Louis, Mo., Bridgeport, Hartford and Waterbury, Conn., Philadelphia, Boston.
Nov. 2-4. Florida Disciples Convention, Lake Worth.
Nov. 3. Christian Mission on World Order, Dallas, Tex., Iowa City, Ia., Lowell, Mass., Saginaw, Mich., Springfield, Mo., Akron, O., Salem, Ore., Lancaster, Pa.
Nov. 3, 4. Eastern District, Church of the Brethren, Lititz, Pa.
Nov. 4. Christian Mission on World Order, San Antonio, Tex., Pocatello, Ida., Portland, Me., Baltimore, Md., Lansing, Mich., Omaha, Nebr., Newark, N. J., Columbus, O., Johnstown, Pa., Kansas City, Mo., Greensville, S. C., Chicago.
Nov. 4-6. Middle Atlantic Conference, Interseminary Movement, Chester, Pa.
Nov. 5. Christian Mission on World Order, Denver, Col., Bangor, Me., Hagerstown, Md., Pontiac, Mich., Chillicothe, Mo., Lima, O., Greensburg and Wilkes Barre, Pa., Columbia, S. C., Ogden, Utah, Seattle, Wash., Milwaukee, Wis.
Nov. 7. Second Congregational Church Forum, Waterbury, Conn.; Stephen S. Wise, speaker.
Nov. 7. Chicago Sunday Evening Club, G. Bromley Oxnam, speaker.
Nov. 7. Christian Mission on World Order, Ann Arbor, Mich.
Nov. 7. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Wilhelm Solzbacher, speaker.
Nov. 7. World Order Sunday.
Nov. 7-9. Arizona Disciples Convention, Tempe.
Nov. 8. Christian Mission on World Order, El Paso, Tex.
Nov. 8. Christian Mission on World Order, Macon, Ga., Evansville, Ind., Topeka, Kan., Fargo, N. D., Salt Lake City, U., Harrisonburg, Va., Fairmount, W. Va.
Nov. 10. Christian Mission on World Order, Phoenix, Ariz.
Nov. 10-12. Alabama Disciples Convention, Athens.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

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EDITORIAL

The Report of the Five Senators

SEVERAL YEARS ago Harold Laski, the British publicist whose knowledge of American affairs dates from his years on the Harvard faculty, wrote a book on *The American Presidency*. It is one of the best studies ever made of the relation of that office to the functioning of the American political system. Critical at many points of American political processes, and convinced of the superiority of British methods, there was one feature of the American system to which Mr. Laski gave his enthusiastic endorsement. That is the constitutional provision by which treaties negotiated by the executive must receive a two-thirds approval by the Senate. By this device, Mr. Laski asserted, the Founding Fathers preserved democratic control of foreign policy. And that, he held, is of vital importance in the contemporary world. Without now debating the worth of Mr. Laski's judgment, it may be said that the excitement stirred up by the report rendered by the five senators who have recently visited most of the war fronts, reveals one weakness in the system which the British observer praised. It is true that the Senate holds ratifying powers in the field of foreign affairs, but executive practice has increasingly tended to leave it with so little information that it must exercise those powers in the dark. Be the long-range result good or bad, the trip of the five senators and their subsequent report was simply an attempt to tear off the executive blindfold which must be torn off if the Senate is to discharge its constitutional function with intelligence.

Were the Senators Anti-British?

WERE the five senators who thus sought to prepare the Senate to act with independent knowledge animated by anti-British prejudice? That has been charged in some quarters here, and has seemingly been taken for granted by a large part of the British press and some members of the British Parliament. Reports have reached this country of bitter editorials and cartoons in English papers —like the savage "Five Monkeys" drawing in the London *Daily Mail*—and even Mr. Churchill indulged in a cryptic remark in Parliament which has been widely regarded in the United States as a jibe at the Senate. But any such imputation of senatorial animus is entirely undeserved. An analysis of the senators' report, insofar as that report has seeped into the public prints, will show that their remarks concerning Middle Eastern oil, the distribution of lend-lease goods and the future use of airfields being built with American funds and manpower were in every instance critical of the American rather than of the British policy. The report tended, if anything, to reveal admiration for the way in which the British are looking after their own interests, both now and in the future. The only direct criticism of an ally was that implicit in Senator Lodge's reference to Russian bases in Siberia. It is far better, far more conducive to hope for understanding and cooperation with our British allies in the future, to have the question of looking after American interests raised now than to have it suddenly and unexpectedly sprung on the public at the end of the war.

Russian Bases and Pacific Victory

AMONG all the statements attributed to the five senators who inspected the war fronts, Senator Lodge's charge that Russia's refusal to make Siberian air bases available for the bombing of Japan will cost the American forces "a million lives" has provoked the strongest dissent. President Roosevelt singled the remark out at a press conference for refutation, and some of the other senators who accompanied Mr. Lodge on the trip hastened to dissociate themselves from this particular judgment. As a matter of fact, it does not require any speeches from Earl Browder to convince most Americans that Russia will not, if she can help it, get involved in the Far Eastern war—at least, not now. The common sense of the situation, with 250 German divisions still fighting on her western front and Japan's largest army and air force poised to pounce on her Siberian bases, should preclude Russian intervention in the Pacific struggle at this stage. However, there is no particular military reason for mourning over this. The

truth is that the Allied forces in the Pacific have gradually been winning their way into positions from which they can soon launch offensives against Japan with every hope of carrying them straight through to the complete defeat of the island empire. While the reoccupation of the outlying Aleutians presents a constant threat requiring the detachment of much Japanese strength to the north, the amphibious forces operating in the southwestern Pacific have gradually been taking islands and bases until the major Japanese base at Rabaul is all but outflanked. When that base on New Britain falls, the way will be open for a full-scale assault on the great Japanese base at Truk island in the Carolines, or perhaps even—if mounting Japanese shipping losses add to the audacity which has brought American naval raids farther and farther west—to by-pass Truk entirely and drive for the Philippines. It is hazardous, of course, to speculate as to what is happening to an enemy's resources, but all signs indicate that Japan is being forced to resort to desperate expedients to obtain sufficient shipping to maintain her long lines of sea communications and that she is definitely falling behind in the air war of attrition. Without ships and without planes, while American ships and planes are being built in astounding numbers, Japan cannot ward off attack indefinitely from the southwest and west. In other words, General MacArthur's recent victories have brought the total campaign against Japan to a far more favorable stage than most Americans as yet realize. Siberian bases are not necessary.

Postwar Strains And Stresses

THE EXCITEMENT so suddenly created, both in England and in this country, by the report of the five wandering senators should serve as a healthy reminder to those who seemingly believe that complete identity of interest obtains between the nations now allied to defeat Hitler, and that therefore a lasting postwar union of these nations can be easily attained. It should sober, likewise, those who declare that if Russia holds back from a postwar alliance, a durable two-party pact can quickly be negotiated between the United States and Great Britain. It is a total, and a mischief-making, misconception of the international situation to talk as though the only divergencies of interest within the United Nations were between the Soviet Union on one side and the combined Anglo-American group on the other. The truth is that there are important divergencies or clashes of interest within the Anglo-American group, and the passion engendered by the senators' report should show how close these lie to the surface of our wartime collaboration. For example, Admiral Vickery, of the maritime commission, has just returned from telling the British that the United States means to use the thousands of ships it is now building to dominate the world's merchant marine after the war, and the British are naturally very unhappy about it. Mr. Wallace has warned against an impending postwar struggle between the producers of natural rubber, most of them British, and the synthetic rubber industry in this country, which will come out of the war with gigantic production capacity. Mr. Laski is sure that the postwar airways program which President Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill have approved means a cutthroat fight between privately owned monopolies using huge government subsidies as their chief weapons. Most of the way up and down the economic line this story of competing British and American interests can be repeated. These competing interests may eventually be reconciled, and we trust they will be. But it will require the exercise of patience and determination on both sides, especially since American sentiment supports Mr. Wallace's demand that the reconciliation be on some other basis than the formation of international cartels.

Is It to be Cooperation Or Economic War?

WE HAVE GIVEN such extended attention to the report of the five senators because behind it lurks the real issue which must be settled before it will be possible to judge what the post-victory relations of Great Britain and the United States are to be. These countries will come out of the war the two great surviving capitalistic nations, eager to occupy the world markets which can keep their economies functioning on a scale to provide adequate profit and to guard against mass unemployment. The real issue between them, therefore, will be whether they can find a basis for industrial and commercial cooperation, or whether they will embark on an economic war. The five senators have returned from their world travels apparently convinced that Great Britain is preparing for a post-victory economic war. They argue, accordingly, that it is time for the United States to make the same sort of preparations. Perhaps the current visit of the delegation from Saudi Arabia is even more closely related to preparations for such an economic war than we suspected when we referred to it in these columns two weeks ago. At any rate, *Time* reports that "the U. S. government itself is negotiating with California Arabian Standard and presumably with Ibn Saud's representatives for direct participation in the oil exploitation," and points out that if the deal goes through "for the first time in its history the U. S. government would embark upon a career as a speculative oil magnate on foreign soil." If this report is true, it presages postwar economic imperialism with a vengeance. And on that basis there can be little hope of lasting cooperation between the real ruling interests of the two nations.

Willkie Out Against Two-Power Pacts

WHILE we are on the subject of the nation's future foreign relations, some reference should be made to the speech which Wendell Willkie delivered in St. Louis on October 15. It was a fighting speech, one of the best Mr. Willkie has ever made, and it showed that if the Republicans nominate him again next year he will campaign on a platform that is likely to be distinctly to the left of that on which President Roosevelt will stand. The most important section of the Willkie speech, however, dealt with foreign affairs and was built around his sharp repudiation of the idea of an exclusive Anglo-American

postwar alliance. Here Mr. Willkie was not only placing himself in outright opposition to the stand taken by that other leading Republican aspirant, Governor Dewey, but he was spurning the bait which Mr. Churchill dangled alluringly in his Harvard speech. Mr. Willkie's perception of the pitfalls inherent in all exclusive alliances, and of the necessity that any postwar organization shall start with an agreement at least including Russia and China with Britain and the United States if it is to lay the foundations for a durable world order, is one of the permanent results of his world tour. One wishes that all prospective candidates of both parties might be required to repeat the Willkie itinerary before announcing their platforms. If that were done, we are confident, there would be little danger that the United States might be enticed into the folly of a postwar two-power pact, whether with Great Britain or any other nation, and there would be general recognition that the postwar international order, whatever its nature, must provide full partnership for China as the leader of Asia. Meanwhile, it is reassuring to receive renewed evidence that Mr. Willkie understands these things, and it is interesting to discover, by the increasing virulence of the attacks against him in such papers as the *Chicago Tribune,* how rapidly his candidacy is gathering strength. The Republican leaders who want to prevent his nomination are up against the oldest of political aphorisms: "You can't beat somebody with nobody."

Allies Set Pattern for Postwar Italy

POLITICAL CYNICISM reached new heights, even for this war, in the fanfare with which the Allies greeted the announcement that the House of Savoy and its current strong man, Marshal Badoglio, had declared war on Germany. Just exactly how this declaration could affect the current situation it was hard to see. The small part of Italy which King Victor Emmanuel or the Duke of Addis Ababa could claim as "loyal" was already in Allied hands. The Italian fleet was also in Allied hands. The only armed forces which were available for the prosecution of war on Germany were British and American forces. These armies had their own generals who needed no assistance. In these circumstances, the granting of the status of co-belligerent to "Italy"—meaning the king and his marshal—seems a bit theatrical. Even the wildest imagination can hardly picture either of this pair as *personally* belligerent. What then is all the shouting about? For one thing, it appears that the Allies do not relish the prospect of taking responsibility, through AMG or otherwise, for administering the civil government of the Italian peninsula in the war-torn condition it will be in after they have taken it away from the Germans. Moreover, this declaration of war by the king and his recognition by the Allies as a "co-belligerent" provides a legal basis, such as it is, for continuing him as ruler of Italy after the war. How are you going to turn out of office a comrade-in-arms? Thus Mr. Churchill's weakness for "legitimacy" becomes the determining factor in another phase of the postwar settlement. But the thing to note is the absolute indifference which this whole deal has shown to the wishes of the Italian people. Having escaped from one abhorred war into which they had been plunged by one tyrant, Allied pressure has now forced its own Italian puppet to act the tyrant, to plunge them into another. And all this in a war for democracy!

Will Overconfidence Defeat Exclusion Repeal?

THOUGH President Roosevelt has placed the prestige of his office behind the proposal to repeal the Chinese exclusion laws and enact legislation to place immigration from that allied country on a quota basis, it appeared well within the range of possibility this week that the overconfidence of friends and the covert opposition of enemies might yet combine to bring about the failure of that proposal through delay or defeat. While there was no open campaign against it, the American Federation of Labor and the American Legion continued their undercover sniping at the Magnuson bill—H.R.3070. The opportunity for observing "double ten," China's independence day, with the passage of this bill was lost when this opposition adopted delaying tactics. The difficulty seems to be that congressmen may attempt to placate labor, which is in a vengeful mood over the passage of the Smith-Connally anti-strike bill, by sacrificing this opportunity to give justice to a friendly nation. If they do, it will unfortunately not be the first time that votes at home have carried more weight with Congress than has any international consideration, no matter how important. The fact that American youth have twice within a generation paid with their lives for the cumulative failures of Congress to understand that the opinions of non-voters in other lands may also be worth taking into account seems seldom to occur to the members of that body. Some evidence that votes may be found on the other side of the question was provided this week when several organizations of the type that can generally be found on top of the bandwagon on international issues came out for passage of the Magnuson proposal. But it is going to take more work than bandwagon hitchhikers are usually ready to do to convince congressmen that the country is serious in its determination that this bill must pass.

Japanese Militarists Again Strike at Capitalism

IN JAPAN the military rulers of the country have long used capitalism and the big industrialists as a scapegoat in much the same manner that Hitler used the Jews of Germany. Political assassinations that did not include a capitalist or two were considered failures. Nevertheless, big business continued to thrive, chiefly on military contracts. It is a measure of the desperation to which the Tojo regime has been reduced by its recent defeats that it has at last been compelled to take over the second largest industrial empire in the Japanese economy and give it to the militarists to run. Mitsubishi, a collection of enterprises which includes shipbuilding, steel, aluminum and other industries essential to the prosecution of the war, has been taken over by the government. The device used was

to order the Mitsubishi companies to double their capital stock, the new issue being bought by the government with printing-press money. Mitsui, the largest economic empire, seems to have survived the recent shakeup. It has presumably been preserved so that the military machine will have at least one more scapegoat for the future. Along with this recent move came a tightening of the draft laws to include Japanese students and emigrants to the continent of Asia and inhabitants of Korea and Formosa and a program of dispersal of industry from the inflammable cities of Japan to Manchuria. All this would indicate, as dispatches from repatriates coming on the exchange ship point out, that the Japanese leaders are determined to carry their end of the war to a successful conclusion, even though Italy has fallen and Germany has suffered irremediable defeats. That they have good reasons for believing they can do so, with the aid of peoples in the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere" was stressed by a Chilean correspondent. Everywhere, according to him, they have secured the cooperation of the "emancipated" people. Everywhere except in one place—the Philippines.

Protestant Reorientation

AMERICAN Protestantism is striving to reorient its forces. In doing so, it is responding to the pressure of certain conditions which make its reorientation imperative. One of these conditions pertains to the soul of Protestantism itself. Many of those most capable of appraising spiritual realities frankly declare that the Christian life of Protestantism is deteriorating under the pervasive influence of the secularistic indifferentism which characterizes modern society. This mood of society is reflected in the churches to such an extent that their inner integration has become attenuated to the point where deep, intelligent Christian commitment is conspicuous by its rarity. An honest appraisal requires the acknowledgment that American Protestantism is spiritually weaker today than at any time in its history.

A second source of pressure demanding a reoriented Protestantism is the increasing consciousness that the separatistic, catch-as-catch-can activities of its sectarian divisions are no match for the kind of world our modern world has become. The Protestant churches may not be losing in numerical strength, but there is a widening disparity between their spiritual and moral authority and the powerful magnitudes through which the secular forces of modern society operate.

A third source of pressure is the growing power of Roman Catholicism in the political and social life of the nation. For Protestants to recognize this fact is no sign of bigotry or intolerance. Both Protestants and Catholics believe, with equal sincerity, that their respective forms of Christianity are a true expression of the Christian faith. But there are radical differences between them. And these differences are of great importance. Their importance cannot be measured merely by an array of the theological and ecclesiastical contrasts which the two faiths exhibit. Only by imagining American culture as predominantly informed by one or the other of these faiths will the significance of their differences appear. Protestantism cannot be true to itself and be indifferent to the character which American civilization would take on in the event that Catholicism became the preponderant spiritual force in the nation's life.

From these three sources the Protestant churches are being made aware of the need for a radical reorientation of their missionary, evangelistic, educational, communal and organizational energies toward the ends for which the Christian church exists. There is widespread acknowledgment that they are unable to achieve these ends by their present sectarianized resources.

This calls, primarily, for three things. First, it calls for a recovery of the conviction that our Christianity is true! This conviction has been diluted and whittled away by secularistic modernism almost to the vanishing point. Second, it calls for a recovery of the conviction that the insights of Protestantism at those points where they are in irreconcilable conflict with Catholicism are important! This conviction has been toned down by a false tolerance to the point of indifferentism. And, third, it calls for a hearty and penitent recognition that the convictions which the Protestant churches share in common are so many and so substantial, and their differences so few and of such little weight, that close cooperation becomes a paramount duty and the continuance of their separatism a sin and a scandal.

Of these three demands which fall heavily upon American Protestantism, the last one mentioned is the subject of this writing. What we have said is only a rough sketch of the background against which the movement for a reorientation of Protestant forces is emerging. The particular occasion which prompts us to write is the announcement of a plan for the cooperative unification of eight independent Protestant agencies which have been operating separately and in varying relations to the churches whose functions they severally represent. The plan has been submitted by a large commission created by the eight agencies themselves. It is subject to approval by the agencies, and if approved is to be submitted to the denominations for their consideration and action.

Our readers are already familiar with the substance of this proposal. It is the same, save for one feature, as the plan presented to the simultaneous meetings of these agencies held at Cleveland in December 1942. The single feature which has been modified is the international character (American-Canadian) of the proposed organization. After the Cleveland meeting it became apparent that the Canadian churches desired to have a Federal Council of their own, and they have taken decisive steps toward achieving it. This development caused the commission to abandon the concept of a "North American Council of Churches," and to present their plan under the title, "National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States."

While this plan provides for cooperation between American and Canadian churches by means of a "Conference" especially created by the two councils, it also provides for knitting together, in the structure of the two councils,

those functions of the uniting agencies which are now exercised internationally. Among these are religious education (the International Council of Religious Education), foreign missions (the Foreign Missions Conference of North America), home missions (the Home Missions Council of North America) and missionary education (the Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada). These agencies and their functions would become "Divisions" of the proposed National Council and would operate in Canada by means of integrated relations with similar "Divisions" of the Canadian council.

It would not be profitable in these pages to discuss or even to set forth the details of the draft constitution of this great project. But it is important that the essential principles involved in it should be generally understood. To understand its significance one must see it as an expression of the keenly felt need for a cooperative reorientation of Protestantism. Those who do not sense this need, those who are narrowly preoccupied and satisfied with their sectarian separatism, will be able to pick trivial flaws in the proposed constitution and magnify these into reasons for rejecting it. But those to whom the traditional anarchic character of Protestantism has become a sin and a scandal in a world before whose magnitudes of power a divided church has revealed its impotence, will take a different view. They will examine the proposal broadly and judge it on the basis of its broad outlines as a move toward the reorientation of Protestantism which the times and the spirit of Christ demand.

The average church member is unacquainted with the complexities, the confusion and the irresponsibility of most of the organizations which now exercise cooperative functions in and on behalf of our Protestant denominations. The most obvious question which such a churchman will ask is, Wherein would this National Council of Churches differ from our present Federal Council of Churches? The Federal Council is one of the agencies participating, with seven others, in the preliminaries which have led to the proposal of the National Council. Along with the others, it would lose its identity, to find it again in the new organization. But when the structure of the proposed organization is examined it bears a striking resemblance to the structure of the present Federal Council. Indeed, it *is* that identical structure, expanded at certain points to make room for the functions now exercised separately by the seven other agencies.

The supporters of this proposal can themselves call attention to points at which the plan could be improved. But we do not believe that any consideration can be urged against it whose weight is such that it is not more than offset by the merits of the plan and by the clamant need of unity. The Christian Century, for its part, would have had the joint negotiations carried on under a different concept from that which was adopted. If we mention this preference, it is only in the vague hope that there is yet time to modify the plan. But our expressed preference does not carry the implication that without such modification the proposal is inadequate as it stands. On the contrary, if the participating agencies are unable to revise their proposed constitution before submitting it to the churches, this paper is heartily committed both to the end which they desire to achieve, and to the proposed means of achieving it.

With this commitment made as clear and emphatic as it can be made, we suggest that it might have been more wise had the negotiations proceeded with a different presupposition from the one which was adopted. Had this been done, a somewhat different conclusion would have been reached—different in form but not in substance. It was assumed by the conferring groups that their eight organizations seeking unity are coordinate, or substantially so. The fact that they all operate interdenominationally was taken to imply that they sustain the same status in relation to the cooperating denominations. This, however, was an error.

The Federal Council is unique in its relation to the churches. It is the creation of the churches, financially supported (in large part) by the churches, and directly responsible to the churches. Of none of the other seven groups can this be said. Some of them are the creation of certain boards; others have arisen independently and made their way into the life of the churches by the merit of their service in meeting specific needs. But none of them is officially responsible to cooperative Protestantism. This does not derogate from the honor which all would accord them. But it should make a difference in the concept under which it is proposed to unite them. Particularly it should make a difference if the plan of union is to issue in a structure which in all essential respects is the equivalent of the Federal Council.

We believe that the negotiations should have proceeded under this concept. Perhaps they would have done so had not the "North American" concept misled the joint deliberations from the outset. This complication, now abandoned, seems to have established the illusion that a merger was possible only if all eight agencies, including the Federal Council, would throw their organizations into a common pool from which a new agency including them all might emerge. Under the "North American" concept this procedure was logical enough, but it was thoroughly illogical when applied to the American scene alone. The assumption that the Federal Council should join with the other organizations in resubmitting itself to the churches for a renewal of their approval was unnecessary and will, it may be feared, cause some confusion when the churches take the proposal under consideration. This should be apparent when the new National Council emerging from this procedure turns out to be essentially the same Federal Council only with added functions and a slightly different name.

Through the Federal Council, cooperative Protestantism has become an established ecclesiastical fact. Its birth was accompanied by hard labor. Its growth has been steady if not always easy. Its strength is now such that it can even take criticism without rocking its foundations (as the readers of this paper can testify!). The principle of the federation of Protestant denominations for cooperative work and witness is now secure. All fear that the autonomy of the denominations will be invaded has vanished. The structure of this federal organization is capable of expansion as far as the federal principle can go.

With the seven other interdenominational agencies

strongly desiring to become ecclesiastically responsible to the churches, as the Federal Council now is, and with the Federal Council equally desirous of effecting a union with these agencies, it would seem that the simpler method of procedure would have been to ask the churches to expand the functions of the Federal Council so as to include them. The question could then have been framed in some such fashion as follows: Do the churches wish cooperative Protestantism to extend its field of cooperation by including in their Federal Council the functions now exercised separately by these seven agencies, all this under the full protection of the autonomy of the churches?

So stated, or similarly stated, the question would, in our opinion, be much simpler and the procedure less involved than to submit a proposal for creating a wholly new structure. We have no desire to argue the point, and we repeat that the two procedures come out at substantially the same place. If this change could yet be made it would, in our opinion, be wise to make it. But if it is not possible or desirable, the proposed constitution should be approved by the agencies and submitted to the churches with enthusiastic and solemn conviction that when accepted it will mark the greatest step forward in the reorientation of Protestantism since the Federal Council itself became a living entity nearly forty years ago.

Meeting at Moscow

BY THE TIME this paper reaches its readers the conference of foreign ministers will be under way in Moscow. Few meetings in modern times have been pregnant with greater historical consequences. To be sure, this conference is called only a preliminary gathering. But it is preliminary simply in the sense that it will, if it succeeds, be followed by another in which Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt will formally ratify the commitments made in the names of their respective states. The real decisions to make those commitments will be reached—or will not be reached—in this meeting in which Molotov, Eden and Hull meet to discover whether agreement can be reached. If this meeting does not succeed, the conference of heads of states will never be held. This, accordingly, is the moment of vital decision.

Unfortunately, it cannot be claimed that the portents for the conference are as encouraging as could be wished. Mr. Stalin, having first refused to accede to the American request to allow the meeting to be held in London, just before the meeting opened served notice, through the official *Pravda,* that there was to be no discussion of Russia's postwar boundaries but that primary consideration must be given to meeting the Soviet demand for a second front. Since neither Mr. Hull nor Mr. Eden can do more in such a gathering than to announce and defend the military decisions already reached at Quebec—decisions already perfectly well known to the Russians—such a welcome in the columns of the Communist party organ can hardly have lessened the misgivings of the American and British representatives as they neared the Kremlin. On the other hand, as the inspired article by Forrest Davis in the *Saturday Evening Post* for September 18 made clear, both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have recently been taking steps to let Mr. Stalin know that, in case of Russian recalcitrance, they are prepared to form a tight Anglo-American military alliance.

However, these preliminary moves do not necessarily mean that no agreement will be reached at the conference. The men now facing each other across a table somewhere inside the Kremlin well know the need for a genuine understanding among their respective nations. They know how vital it is that a firmly united front be presented against Hitler. And they know what despair would sweep over their peoples if it should be disclosed at this gathering that this united front is not and cannot be a reality. Moreover, they know that a convincing demonstration of their unity of purpose and program depends on their ability to agree on the handling of the one issue which underlies all others on the agenda of this conference. If that one issue can be solved, all else is possible. And what is that one issue? The post-victory treatment of Germany!

Germany is the key issue at Moscow. In a sense, it is the only issue. The approaching defeat of the German army, the approaching collapse of Hitler and his nazi regime, has suddenly made it imperative that the three victor nations shall reach an understanding as to what is to be done on and after the day the defeated enemy sues for an armistice. And this conference has been rushed into session at Moscow because the heads of the American and British governments have suddenly begun to fear that the accumulating weight of Russian victories may bring a break in the morale of the German people and a collapse of the German armies on the eastern front at almost any time. Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill were caught unprepared by the sudden collapse of fascist Italy. They cannot afford to be caught that way again when Hitler falls.

Yet it is evident that the Anglo-American representatives enter this conference they have so eagerly sought at a huge disadvantage. In saying that we are not thinking primarily of the military situation. It is true, of course, that it is the Russians who have defeated the bulk of Hitler's forces, and it will be the Russian armies that will stand in the hour of completed triumph in actual possession of most of the disputed territory of Europe. Nevertheless, this military situation constitutes only a minor element in the Russian advantage as the Moscow meeting opens. Of far greater importance is the fact that the Russians enter the consultations with a perfectly clear-cut, logical and realistic policy for dealing with Germany (and eastern Europe) while the Anglo-American representatives enter with only a confusion of temporary expedients which hardly deserve the name of "policy" at all.

In the current issue of the *American Mercury* the Russian historian and economist, David J. Dallin, whose book on *Russia and Postwar Europe* is about to be published by the Yale University Press, has an article on "Russia's Aims in Europe." Dr. Dallin states that Russia's postwar plans for Germany (and for the rest of Europe) are perfectly clear, since they have been stated by Stalin and

others on many occasions. In brief, they envisage "a resuscitated Germany without Hitler, militarily and industrially vigorous, but geared to the old Bismarckian principle of a Russo-German bloc as a counterweight to the West." This article deserves to be read in its entirety; it outlines the Soviet postwar policy with a wealth of documentation which makes its internal political and economic logic clear. Its sketch of what Stalin has in view, it may be said in passing, agrees at all important points with the forecasts made in these columns.

In contrast, Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden must confront Mr. Molotov with a "policy" for the treatment of a defeated Germany which is confusion worse confounded. It claims that it is based on a demand for "unconditional surrender." Yet every surrender so far made to the Western allies has been beclouded by intrigue and manipulations of the most bizarre nature—and most of these astonishing "expedients" of statecraft, it is now known, have been dickered over and agreed to before the surrenders have taken place! Anglo-American intentions toward Germany then proceed with threats of dire punishment, such as those recently made by Mr. Churchill, with hints that this may involve dismemberment of the Reich, "policing" to last for an indefinite period, staggering penalties —perhaps even including foreign sequestration—against industry, and long-term "re-education," whatever that may mean. Yet this forecast of Draconian treatment is rendered logically monstrous by the deals which the Anglo-American allies have already made with men like Darlan, Peyrouton, Badoglio, Victor Emmanuel, George of Greece, the exiled cabinet of Yugoslavia, Mihailovich, Salazar, and now even have on the fire with a bloody-handed despot like Franco.

Where is the logic in dealing with men of this stripe in terms of the utmost liberality and then offering nothing but castigation to a Germany which will have done away with Hitler and his nazi gang? There is none. Where is the good sense in trying to turn the most populous and industrially most developed nation in the heart of Europe into a penal colony? There is none. Where is the realism in supposing that either the American or the British people are prepared to support this hate-producing police program indefinitely? There is none. Even Walter Lippmann now warns that "to occupy and govern as big a nation as Germany is a most formidable undertaking, and to carry it out for a long period of years by the united action of our complicated alliance would call for a degree of unanimity and daily cooperation which we have no right to count upon."

The truth is that the Anglo-American "policy" which Mr. Hull and Mr. Eden have taken to the Moscow conference has neither ideological nor practical coherence. It grows out of no commitment to rid Europe or the world of fascism, for it has shown its readiness to deal with fascism wherever that seemed expedient. (When President Roosevelt recently said, "We shall not be able to claim that we have gained total victory in this war if any vestige of fascism in any of its malignant forms is permitted to survive anywhere in the world," his emphasis must have been on *malignant*. Evidently the fascism of Salazar and Franco is not regarded as malignant.) This "policy" is not based on the experience of the past, for it is intent on repeating some of the worst mistakes of Versailles. Its only coherence is as an expression of determination to destroy Germany forever as a possible political and economic rival of Britain.

Russian policy, on the contrary, is as clear and coherent as daylight. It sees the European crisis as fundamentally social, to be resolved ultimately in the general diffusion of socialist government throughout that continent. It also sees the masses of Germany as the victims of fascist exploitation and tyranny, from which they are about to be freed, not for purposes of punishment but to be welcomed into friendly relations with the people of Russia and whatever other European peoples may enter the socialist orbit. Uniting the vast undeveloped market of her rapidly growing population and the material riches of her soil with the high technological potential of the Reich, Russia sees a greater strength for herself and a greater security and prospect of prosperity for the people of Germany. Aside from the initial and necessary act of getting rid of Hitler and his gangsters, there is not a single negative element in the Russian program. It is clear where the Anglo-American proposals are hopelessly vague, logical where they are equivocal, generous where they are vindictive and constructive where they are simply punitive.

The only understanding, therefore, which it seems possible for the three nations to achieve in the Moscow meeting—or which would be worth achieving as a step toward a durable peace—will have to be on the basis of the Russian policy. Great Britain and the United States will have to recognize the dominant Russian interest in the affairs of central and eastern Europe, the logic of the Russian policy, and the readiness of the Soviet Union to set up a postwar plan for dealing with Germany that will work. Therefore, as has been said before in these pages, it becomes the interest and duty of the Anglo-American allies to see that Russia gets her deserved chance to put her plans into operation. Anglo-American military and diplomatic strategy, as decided at Moscow, should base itself from this hour forward on the determination to see that Stalin gets to Berlin. On that basis, and we believe only on that basis, is a genuine understanding with the Soviet Union possible. On that basis, and we fear only on that basis, can the war in Europe be made to yield a durable peace. And on that basis, and only on that basis, can we turn our resources to liquidating the war in the Pacific without the prospect of endless years of slaughter all over eastern Asia and the isles of the sea.

Even Thine Altars

THESE are thine altars, too, O God,
Here where the presses roar.
For work makes this a kneeling place;
Hallows a factory floor.

Hands stained with grime, trademarked with toil,
Are blessed as when they raise
To take the cup, the symbol bread,
While quiet music plays.

BERNICE BURROUGHS.

Can Missions in India Be Saved?

By Harold E. Buell

A YOUNG HINDU studying in America was asked, "If the government of India were turned over to you on Independence Day, what would be your first step?" "I would order all Christian foreign missionaries out of the country at once," he answered. Undoubtedly many Hindu and Mohammedan Indians would agree. For rightly or wrongly they have come to associate the Christian missionary enterprise with the foreign government which dominates India; in fact they regard the former as only the religious aspect of the hated foreign imperialism.

In seeking the cause of this desire to expel Christian missions from India one is led to see that many Indians, some of them Christian, believe that the missionary enterprise itself is at least partly to blame. They contend that missions have not only enjoyed the protection and blessing of the British-controlled government of India, but in conflicts between the British *raj* and the nationalistic aspirations of the Indian people have almost always sided with the British authorities. Or, where active support has not been given to the British, a passive silence has seemed to indicate an essential agreement with her policies.

Missions and Imperialism

Naturally there have been individual exceptions among the missionaries. Many who have remained silent have maintained a tortured neutral attitude, and others have quietly sympathized with India's nationalistic aspirations. But the latter have been comparatively inarticulate, thus convincing many Hindus and Mohammedans in India that the Christian religion and the British political machine are branches of the same imperialistic tree. As a result, they have reached the conclusion that when British overlordship goes, as it inevitably must, the foreign missionary too must go.

There are several reasons, traceable in part to the mistakes of missionaries and mission boards, for this identification of foreign missions with a foreign imperialism.

1. Missionaries have found it difficult to identify themselves with India and Indians. As individuals they have had more in common with the British in India than with the native people. A common racial heritage, similarities of language and culture and similarities in government and general background have led the American missionary in particular to lean toward the Britisher in India, making it easy for him to reflect, perhaps unconsciously, the British point of view rather than the Indian on political and other matters. Naturally, British missionaries would be inclined to identify themselves with the political and economic views of the British government in India rather than with those of the Indian subjects.

Speaking to a group of missionaries in Calcutta a few years ago, Mahatma Gandhi said, "I miss receptiveness, humility, willingness on your part to identify yourselves with the masses of India." A Christian Indian, G. V. Job, writing in *Rethinking Christianity in India,* amplifies Gandhi's thought: "On all major issues on which there was difference of opinion between the government and national leaders, and even on questions involving purely moral standards, the sympathies of the British and American missionaries have usually been with the government. . . . It is readily recognized by missionary observers of the Christian movement in the East, that it is likely to be seriously hampered by the tendency on the part of Eastern Christians to be good Hindus, Japanese or Chinese first and then Christians. But is not the trouble with the world and the church entirely due to the fact that in the West it is not a tendency, but an established fact, that people are good Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans or Italians first and then Christians?" When a missionary's national loyalty comes before his loyalty to Christ, that national loyalty stands between him and a complete identification as a Christian with the Indian people.

Another Christian Indian takes an even more outspoken position in the privately circulated "Report of First Conference of Christian Radicals." He says: "The Christian religion has been preached in India for the past 150 years, with a view to making the people submissive, docile and slavish. . . . In every struggle between the people of this land and the foreign power that holds them down in bondage, the missionaries, with rare exceptions, have not only ranged themselves on the side of the powers that be, against the people of the land, but have also used their authority and influence over the unhappy Indian Christians to make them stand against their own land and freedom. While the British missionaries did that as a matter of duty, the non-British missionaries either kept their mouths shut or secretly sided with the British, as they did not want to create any diplomatic complications. . . . This has made every self-respecting Indian do all in his power to oppose the spread of Christianity in India, as he feels that Christianity and the British empire are identical."

A Decade Hence?

Unless the Christian missionary enterprise in India can convince India that it is non-political and that it has no connections with the political overlords, unless it can convince India that it is, to say the least, neutral politically and not pro-British and anti-Indian, it is bound to be placed in a bad light when the present nationalist underdogs receive the self-government that has been promised them. A decade from now, the Christianity represented by the missionaries will hinge to a large degree on whether or not they can forget their Western ways of thinking and acting and identify themselves in thought, action and fellowship with the Indians whom, in reality, they have gone to India to serve.

2. Related closely in the mind of the thinking Indian to the failure of the Western missionary to identify himself with the Indian is the feeling that Christianity is a foreign religion. Unless the church can become indi-

genous, it may be thrown out of India as something alien and unwanted when Independence Day comes.

It was natural in the beginning of the missionary endeavor that the foreign influence should be felt. When a Hindu became a Christian he completely severed himself from the old life—in fact, was ostracized from his Hindu community. In adopting the Christian religion he adopted also a Christian name, Western dress, Western habits; he imitated the missionary outwardly and soon became a foreigner in his own country. Unfortunately, his adoption of an alien character has caused the Indian Christian to be looked upon with suspicion by non-Christian Indians who are anxious to sever connections with the foreign government. While there has recently been a tendency among Christian Indians to resume their Indian names and otherwise identify themselves with their countrymen, the damage has in part been done. Christianity in India must get rid of its foreign stigma if it is not to be looked upon with suspicion in the new, free India.

Indigenous Church Needed

Christian Indians are coming to recognize this problem and to deal with it. John Barnabas, a young Christian Indian, writing in the *Indian Social Reformer* (Nov. 1, 1914) says: "Our church is not our own. It is a travesty of truth to term it 'Indian' church as some fondly do. What we need is a truly Indian church. The church of today is a mere replica of the church of the West. It is not indigenous. We need to have our own architecture, our own forms of worship, our own music, our own mode of priesthood."

G. V. Job expresses himself along the same lines: "So one desires that while the air is fresh and pure the infant Indian church should be born. How? No prophet can say. But we can all see that it cannot be brought into being by transplanting to the Indian soil Western churches. It cannot be built upon outworn creeds, borrowed theology, alien ceremonials, sacerdotalism and priestcraft."

It was perhaps inevitable in the beginning that, since the Christian leadership was supplied by missionaries who were foreigners, the forms of Western Christianity should be transplanted. But unfortunately, though in time an Indian Christian leadership was trained, the influence —sometimes the pressure—of the foreign missionary was too strong to allow a complete transformation of Western forms into indigenous forms of worship and organization. If Christianity is to have a place in the India of tomorrow, the Christian Indians must be given a free hand to build an Indian church, adapted to the needs and temperament of the Indian people.

3. Again, Indians identify the Christian mission with the hated foreign imperialism because the missionary who sympathizes with Indian desires for political freedom is not permitted by the British government to express his views freely. On the other hand, the missionary who agrees with British policies in India is not bothered by the restrictions on public expression. Before a missionary is granted a visa to enter India, he must sign the famous "missionary pledge": "I hereby undertake to do nothing contrary to, or in diminution of, the legally constituted government in the country to which I am appointed." Obviously the missionary who has no objections to Britain's rule in India has no trouble with this pledge, but the missionary who, with the Indian nationalists, condemns what he feels is the injustice and sin of imperialism and economic exploitation finds that he must keep quiet or eventually return to his homeland. The Indian nationalists are generally familiar only with the pro-British feelings of missionaries, and they naturally conclude that the Christian church, as represented by its missionaries, is anti-Indian. No wonder they feel that when they come into power the missionary enterprise, which, they believe, resisted them all the way, should be forced to leave.

Missionaries Forced to Leave

Some few missionaries have challenged the "missionary pledge." They felt that in promising to "do nothing contrary to . . . the legally constituted government" they would be failing in their obligations to God; that when their pledges to God and to the British government conflicted they had to choose God. Most missionaries however sign the pledge, saying that they will go to India and do what good they can. Unless the missionary boards can secure a cancellation of this pledge, it may not only lessen the effectiveness of the missionary endeavor, but prejudice the future Indian government against a Christianity which will not protest against the abridgment by a secular power of the conscience and freedom of its representatives.

The case of three Methodist missionaries who left India in 1940 because of British restrictions on their expression of their views has received some publicity. Ralph Templin, J. Holmes Smith and Paul Keene attempted to identify themselves with the Indian people, sympathizing with them in their desire for freedom and democracy. Their conduct in this matter was almost universally condemned by their fellow missionaries. However, I have never heard a word of criticism of them on the part of any Indian, Christian or non-Christian. The common Indian attitude was, "Why doesn't America send us more missionaries like them?" Yet it was these missionaries who were reaching the Indian people in a vital way who were forced, because of British pressure, to leave India.

Mission Policy Changes Proposed

Many Indians cannot understand why the foreign mission boards accept the missionary pledge which shackles the missionaries and limits their freedom of expression and conduct. They interpret failure to protest as acquiescence in British policies. Mahatma Gandhi told me in the fall of 1941 that he thought the mission boards could and should bring pressure to bear, perhaps with the aid of the United States state department, upon the British authorities to withdraw the pledge and give the missionaries a measure of freedom. "I do not see how a missionary can conscientiously do a constructive piece of work under the limitations imposed by government," he said.

I recognize, of course, that there are other reasons for the increasing desire of some of the Indian nationalists to expel missionaries from India. There is the rising tide of nationalism itself, which objects to too much foreign in-

fluence of any kind. There is the influence of the established religions, which naturally resent the inroads of a competitor. But the missionaries and their boards are also partially to blame for the rising opposition to Christianity —opposition which, however, may yet be checked. Let me sketch a few suggestions as steps in the right direction.

1. All foreign financial support should be withdrawn immediately from all enterprises which have the slightest chance of being able to support themselves, particularly in the cities. Some projects may die, but the increased strength of those which, being obliged to sink or swim, manage to swim, will make up for them.

2. All money sent to other projects in India from abroad should have no strings attached. There should be no repetition, on large or small scale, of the case of the Christian Indian student of my acquaintance who was threatened with having his "missionary" scholarship taken away from him if he attended an independence rally on his college campus.

3. Extreme care should be taken to see that missionary money does not make beggars and "bread-and-butter Christians" out of the Indians, as Gandhi and others claim has frequently been the case in the past.

4. The Indianization of the Christian church in India should be accelerated. The Indians may make mistakes, but out of those mistakes will grow experience which eventually will make it possible for them to establish a truly indigenous church.

5. Every encouragement should be given the use of languages native to the region, the use of Indian forms of architecture, the development of Indian ritual and worship forms and the use of Indian music, to insure that the Indian church shall not be a foreign church.

6. The mission boards should make a concerted effort to have the "missionary pledge" withdrawn, and with it the restrictions on freedom which prevent a missionary from truly reaching the Indian people.

7. The individual missionary should guard against seeming anti-Indian in his views and outlook; even though he is not pro-Indian he can at least be neutral. He should make a point of identifying himself with the Indian rather than with the British overlord.

The Indians will get self-government. They are determined to have it. Moreover, the British have promised it to them. It is not too late for the Oriental Christ to be naturalized in India. There is still time to insure that when the foreign government moves out of India, an indigenous Christian church will remain.

The Associated Press Decision

By Oswald Garrison Villard

THAT was an extraordinary decision handed down on October 6 by three judges of the United States district court for the southern district of New York in the case of the government against the Associated Press —extraordinary for several reasons. The government had brought action to have the Associated Press declared a combination in restraint of trade because it does not grant its service to anybody applying for it but restricts its membership according to certain rules, and without waiting for trial had moved for a summary judgment on the facts presented in briefs to the court. At the request of the government the court constituted this special bench from its members to expedite the decision in the case. The three judges are of highest repute—Learned Hand, Augustus N. Hand and Thomas W. Swann. In giving its decision the court was divided, the two Hands upholding three of the government's contentions and rejecting the others, and Judge Swann entirely supporting the Associated Press' position. What is most remarkable is that the majority opinion reveals unusual doubt on the part of the two judges as to the correctness of their position, and makes it quite clear that they expect, and apparently desire, that the newspapers holding membership in the A.P. will make an appeal to the Supreme Court.

This unusual doubt on the part of the judges is stated in the following, the concluding, paragraph of the decision:

> Finally, because the interests involved are so important and so large; because the injury done may be so great if we turn out to be wrong, and because we are not agreed, the whole judgment will be stayed for a period of sixty days after it is entered and subsequently for the pendency of any appeal to the Supreme Court, if one is taken within that period.

This is frank recognition of the importance of the case which, in the eyes of many, involves not only the right of the creator of news to specify to whom it shall go, but also brings up the question of the liberty of the press. The court further showed its uncertainty in that it granted a stay of 120 days to give the Associated Press time to make the changes in its by-laws which the majority judges directed. Again, the majority goes so far as to order that the members of the A.P. in voting upon the admission of an applicant for membership shall be bound by a new by-law forbidding them in the consideration of such an application to consider the effect of the admission of the new member upon those members already in the field to which entrance is sought. In other words, the court undertakes to specify the state of mind in which the members of the A.P. shall enter the meeting room in order to vote upon the desirability of the candidate for membership.

This is plainly going amazingly far for a court—this seeking to regulate an individual process of thought—and the two Judges Hand admit the peculiarity of this ruling in their next paragraph when they say: "It is of course true that the members may disregard the last provision in practice; but that is not to be assumed. At any rate, we think that the plaintiff is entitled to that much positive assurance in the organic law; *and it is as far as we can go.*"

(Italics mine.) Now, the most important questions in connection with applications for membership have always been whether the community in which the service was asked could sustain another daily if the application was for a new journal, and whether the applicant was actuated by a desire to injure or displace the existing dailies and whether or not it was a purely "strike," or blackmailing, venture for the express purpose of compelling its purchase by the established journals—something not unknown in the past. It has never been the policy of the A.P. to injure members by admitting a new daily where there was no clear public need for additional news-giving facilities. But the by-laws must now be amended so that each member in voting must eliminate from his mind all consideration of the existing journalistic situation.

Decision Favors Marshall Field

Next, it is true that the government won its demand that the existing by-law of the Associated Press which gives the members in a community the right to exclude an applicant by what is known as the "protest right," be done away with. While that right could always be overridden, first by a four-fifths, and later by a majority, vote of the total membership, still it was generally effective. The decision of the two judges on this point now makes it possible for Marshall Field to renew his application for membership without having to face an immediate veto from Colonel McCormick of the *Chicago Tribune*. Nonetheless, the majority judges refused to say that the Associated Press should not have any right at all to restrict admission to its ranks. Thus, in enjoining "the defendants from continuing to enforce the by-laws regulating the admission of members in their present form," it left "it open to them to adopt substitutes which will restrict admission." In other words the judges practically say: "We don't like these particular by-laws, so please alter them to suit our taste."

This action of the government was brought under the Sherman anti-trust law, a statute written half a century and more ago to prevent the growth of trusts, combinations in restraint of trade and monopolies. We thus have another interesting example of how a law enacted for one purpose can, with the lapse of years, be extended to cover wholly different matters or ends—the income tax laws being a further example. It certainly could never have been the intention of the drafters of the original law that it should be applied to a non-profit-making, cooperative news-gathering agency, which every day faces keen and competent competition. Lest anybody think that the majority of the court found that the A.P. constituted a news monopoly and therefore ordered the by-laws changed, I hasten to add that both the majority and minority opinions admitted that there was strong competition to the Associated Press in the United Press and Hearst's International News Service—which finding is another black eye for the government. As one who for twenty-one years conducted an evening newspaper in the city of New York, I should not hesitate to assume the management of any newspaper, other things being equal, because it had only United Press service. Some strong American newspapers have been built up without the Associated Press service. Although the government contended that newspapers are put to serious disadvantage if they do not have the A.P. service I can only say that in my lifetime as a journalist I have never heard of any reader's refusing to buy a newspaper because it did not print the A.P. dispatches. He usually neither knows nor cares what the source of news of his favorite newspaper is.

Who Controls News?

The sharpest disagreement between Judge Swann and his two associates came over the question of the exclusive right to local news of spontaneous origin which, under the Associated Press rules, must be furnished to it alone by its members, and cannot be sold to others. Judge Swann declared that the decision of the majority, that this exclusivity of news could not be allowed unless the by-laws were changed, was based on the wrong court precedents and said: "To my mind the nature of a news report, which is the intellectual product of him who makes it, points to the conclusion that he may choose to whom he will disclose it, rather than to the conclusion that he is under a duty to disclose it to all applicants." He insists that previous decisions relied upon by the majority were entirely mistaken precedents—that they were not precedents.

Personally I have not been able to see why, if the special news stories created by the correspondents of the *Chicago Tribune* must be turned over to everyone else who may ask for them, the author of a comic strip now syndicated in numerous newspapers should not likewise be required to furnish it to every other newspaper that wants it. Certainly Marshall Field's *Chicago Sun* needs Little Orphan Annie and Andy Gump much more than it needs the Associated Press service, astonishing as this will seem to many people who don't know Chicago and its journalistic tastes, and the Field newspaper loses much money by not having them. Actually, if I were a betting man I should wager that Marshall Field's chances for getting his newspaper into the A.P. are a good deal worse today than when he induced the government to start the suit, which I believe would never have been undertaken if the *Sun* had been as hostile to the Roosevelt administration as is the *Tribune*.

A.P. No Monopoly

While the decision is in other respects obscure and must await the findings of the Supreme Court if either side decides to appeal it—the government says that it is entirely satisfied and that it has achieved a great victory, and the A.P. will not act until its directors meet in a few days—the fact is that the A.P. has been completely acquitted of the charge that it is a grasping monopoly; henceforth it should be classified as a public utility. Had it been classified as such from the beginning that would have meant public regulation of the press and would have opened the road wide to encroachments upon its liberties. Whatever the faults of the A.P., and there are many—I speak as a former director and a member for twenty-one years—they call for no action by federal authority for they can be done away with at any time that its cooperative membership sees fit to deal with them.

Speaking of Hymns

By John Haynes Holmes

I WAS LOOKING over the so-called Olney Hymns of William Cowper the other day, and was impressed by the skill of this poet in opening his hymns with lines of mystic beauty or high-sounding proclamation. It is no secret, of course, that Cowper was a master of noble phrase. Witness such lines as those in Book II of *The Task*, wherein he speaks of certain men of his time in England who

> Presume to lay their hand upon the ark
> Of her magnificent and awful cause.

In this same poem there appears the famous passage in which Cowper denounces chattel slavery and extols the tradition of English liberty:

> Slaves cannot breathe in England; if their lungs
> Receive our air, that moment they are free;
> They touch our country, and their shackles fall.

And who can forget the lines in which he yearns for "a lodge in some vast wilderness,"

> Where rumor of oppression and deceit,
> Of unsuccessful or successful war
> Might never reach me more.

Cowper is neglected, not merely because of his eighteenth century manners and ideas, but more because he lacked both the physical and spiritual vitality to maintain the highest levels of poetic utterance. Had he not been "a stricken deer," as he called himself, he might have matched Miltonic splendors.

It is this power of occasional eloquence, of the noble and sonorous phrase, which Cowper used with such effectiveness in his hymns, especially in the opening lines. He got his hymns off to a good start, which I deem to be as important an element in hymn writing as in boat racing. Note such first lines as these:

> Oh! for a closer walk with God,
> A calm and heavenly frame;

> Hark, my soul! it is the Lord;

> God moves in a mysterious way
> His wonders to perform;

> Sometimes a light surprises
> The Christian while he sings;

> The billows swell, the winds are high.

These lines sound a call; they catch a vision; they distill an atmosphere. They insure the success of the hymn in the first dozen words. Can any hymn be successful which does not thus begin?

I

Greatest of all opening lines, it seems to me, and among the greatest lines in all hymnody, are Faber's

> There's a wideness in God's mercy
> Like the wideness of the sea.

The soul spreads its wings, as a ship its sails, at the mere thought of these words. What a picture, in utmost simplicity, of the infinitude of God's spirit! Faber has some other noble lines in this hymn, yet he could not sustain this opening flight. Nonetheless, the hymn soars to the end, if only because it started so high in the empyrean of mystic rapture. But the amazing thing is that Faber did not himself know what he had done. He actually started this hymn with another verse, which has now all but disappeared. Which is like a bird fluttering along the ground ere its wings catch the gale and mount aloft! But others were quick to correct the author's mistake, and therewith give the hymn its true initial character.

An examination of the "Index of First Lines" in any contemporary hymnal will show how superb are the opening lines of most of our widely accepted hymns. Perhaps the truth is that those hymns have survived the rigorous test of usage whose opening phrases were worthy to be listed in an "Index of First Lines"! But commonplace first lines are plentiful. In a book which I have here before me as I write—a book widely used in our more liberal churches—I find lines which are dull and colorless, indicating little or nothing of the thought and spirit of a hymn—phrases that anyone might have written, routine apostrophes or exclamations which kindle no light and stir no feeling. These lines never get off the ground, so to speak. One wonders that hymns thus introduced could have had vitality enough to have endured at all.

Try it for yourself, and see if it be not true that commonplace first lines are the tags of commonplace hymns which, like commonplace men, are necessarily in the majority. Such hymns, like such men, have their place and use, I have no doubt, but they carry with them little inspiration.

But in this hymnal there are great first lines which are the open doors to great hymns. Or, to put it the other way round, there are great hymns which almost invariably have noble entrances. Read down through the index, and see how these first lines run:

> A mighty fortress is our God.

Could the man who conceived that line have written anything other than an immortal hymn?

> Abide with me, fast falls the eventide.

How different from the above, yet how true to song and sense! The whole of life and death unfolds from out those seven words.

> Awake, my soul, stretch every nerve.

A trumpet call which sounds clear to the very end of this great hymn!

> Calm on the listening ear of night.

All of the first Christmas night waits hushed and awed in these few words.

> Faith of our fathers, living still.

Go forth to life, O child of earth.

God's trumpet wakes the slumbering world.

I saw the City of the Lord.

In the cross of Christ I glory.

Lord of all being, throned afar.

O Master, let me walk with thee.

Rise, God, judge thou the earth in might.

Rise up, O men of God.

The spacious firmament on high.

Watchman, tell us of the night.

When wilt thou save the people?

These are but a few that catch my eye. Others may choose as many more. The truth remains—that all that a hymn would say must sound, or at least be suggested, in its opening line. Failing that line, it is doubtful if the hymn can ever live, and burn, and guide the hearts of men.

II

The closing lines of a hymn are also important, though not so easy to trace or to define. They should certainly contain the spiritual summary of all that the hymn has been trying to say. They should have something of the surety and calm and power of a great ship moving into port after an ocean voyage. Compact in their few words must be the vision of the hymn's flight through four, five or six verses, as in the ship there lies the cargo borne across as many seas. As the first lines give the announcement, or proclamation, of the hymn, so the last lines must speak the benediction. At the start, excitement; at the close, satisfaction and sweet content. It is Tennyson's echo of Catullus in his lovely poem on "Sirmio," *"Ave atque vale"*—"Hail and farewell!"

One way of solving the problem of the close of a hymn is to write the piece around a refrain, repeated in verse after verse, with or without variation. The classic example of this method in our time is Kipling's use of the famous couplet which concludes each stanza of "Recessional." Another familiar example is Faber's "Faith of our fathers," each verse of which ends with the rousing pledge:

Faith of our fathers, holy faith,
We will be true to thee till death.

A simple and effective device is that of repeating at the close of a hymn the line, or lines, which opened it. This echo, as it may be called, is like ending the movement of a symphony with a final proclamation of the opening theme. Isaac Watts does this superbly in his famous hymn, "O God, our help in ages past," where the first verse, with the change of a single line, is used also as the last verse, as follows:

O God, our help in ages past,
Our hope for years to come,
Be thou our guard while troubles last,
And our eternal home.

William Pierson Merrill resorts to this same device in his "Rise up, O men of God," where this resounding line both opens and closes the hymn.

In the old days, when Christian theology was prone to regard this present life as only a preparation for the life to come beyond the grave, it was easy to end a hymn with a reference to heaven. Sometimes this was the logic of the theme, more often not. But it was frequently used, and still is. Run through any hymnal and see how many hymns end with some such lines as these:

I taste e'en now the hallowed bliss
Of an eternal home.

To sing the songs of victory
With faithful souls above.

Forward tends to his abode
To rest in his embrace.

Lead me to my journey's end.

Cardinal Newman glorified this custom in the closing lines of his "Lead, kindly light":

And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since, and lost awhile.

The noblest way of ending a hymn is to lead its ideas along to a mounting climax of thought and feeling which breaks out in the last verse as a kind of inevitable chorale, the statement and celebration of all that the hymn is about. Oliver Wendell Holmes does this in his magnificent "Lord of all being," the last verse of which reads:

Grant us thy truth to make us free,
And kindling hearts that burn for thee,
Till all thy living altars claim
One holy light, one heavenly flame.

Frederick Lucien Hosmer ends his "Thy Kingdom come, O Lord" with an unforgettable last verse:

Till rise at last, to span
Its firm foundations broad,
The commonwealth of man,
The city of our God.

And what can match the perfection of the last lines of Theodore C. Williams' hymn of brotherhood—

When thy heart enfolds a brother,
God is there.

Some last lines are unbelievably weak. See the closing lines of "We go not on a pilgrimage," by Jones Very, who was a true poet:

We go not on a pilgrimage
As those who went of old;
The Holy Land around us lies,
Of which we have been told.

There are last lines which are like "a grand amen" in a cathedral. See the close of Montgomery's hymn on prayer:

Lord, teach us how to pray!

A hymn may be made or lost with its closing as with its opening lines.

III

All of this may seem trivial. Yet it is of intense interest to those of us who love hymnology. And it should be of

importance to those who must deal with hymnology—ministers, for example, who lead their people to the rich pastures, or to the sterile wastes, of our church hymnals!

What I would convey is the idea that hymns represent an art, a literary and spiritual art as real as music, painting or poesy. It is a rare art, as delicate as the carving of ivory or the molding of chaste gold. It is a difficult art, mastered by only a few through many ages. It has its standards, its principles, its methods. These standards should be known, these principles revered, these methods heeded in stern discipline of spirit. Though we never write a hymn, we should be able to recognize a good hymn when we see it, and know why it is good. And we should protect our congregations from bad hymns as we would protect them from anything else that is cheap, vulgar and profane. When we lift our voices in song we are praising God. Nothing can be too pure for that most sacred rite of religion.

BOOKS

Socialization with Liberty

ECONOMIC FREEDOM, A DEMOCRATIC PROGRAM. *By Charles E. Noyes. Harper & Brothers, $2.50.*

TO PILOT a middle way for the future social economy of America is Mr. Noyes' endeavor. He is plainly sympathetic with the New Deal. He regards many of its enterprises as experimental, but holds that its principles are sound. Its proponents need to learn from its errors, and its future must be kept in the hands of the people, who will need to appraise and reappraise it constantly.

The starting point of this very able and closely thought volume is stated thus: "The liberal capitalist economy, which once helped to produce the fastest improvement in material welfare the world ever experienced, has now become a brake, retarding improvement."

Believing that the American people are firmly rooted in the rights of private ownership for the individual and are determined to retain private enterprise, the author does not accept the demand of the "business as usual" crowd. The unfolding process of society has never accorded to business an unchanging status; times change and progress demands constant change. It is the business of the democracy to chart the course of change and pilot the evolution of progress. "The classical economic doctrine that society as a whole will be best served when each producer pursues his own selfish interest is the opposite of the truth."

The day for the lowest wages and largest profits possible is gone. Modern business itself requires the highest wage and the smallest margin of profit possible in order that the masses may buy and thus increase the volume of business under a mass production economy. Mass production and mass distribution require mass purchasing power. Thus it comes about, in the evolution of our economy, being socialized whether we will or not, that the clue to business prosperity is an ever rising standard of living for the masses. This is not philanthropy but plain horse sense which business must practice for its own salvation.

The author plots no utopia; he advocates no extreme action. He believes change should be gentle, not ignoring the deeply ingrained habits, folkways and customary ways of doing things. Progress is safely made only under step-by-step change, bringing the mind of the democracy along with it; yet change is inevitable by the very canons of progress, and as the complexity of human relations increases overall planning is a necessity. We are not ready for socialism, but socialization is inherent in modern social progress; business itself creates it. Invention, the machine, specialization, rapid transport all create a complex of social relationships that spells socialization. They demand a socialization of the "rugged individualist," an end of laissez faire, and such intervention of government as the welfare of society, and especially of its less privileged members, requires. The people "must develop new forms of democracy to make their will effective in a changing world."

Believing thus, not in revolution but in orderly evolution, Mr. Noyes discusses such problems as the impact of technology, money, credit, saving, investment, social planning, decentralization, wages, standards of living, foreign relations and free enterprise in a socialized democracy. He shows throughout a firm grasp of the problems, experience in social and economic analysis, and a sincere desire to find ways and means to "retain the essential freedom of the individual in relation to whatsoever measures of social control are found necessary in the public interest."

ALVA W. TAYLOR.

The Meaning of Art

THE AESTHETIC PROCESS. *By Bertram Morris. Northwestern University, $2.25.*

PROFESSOR Morris loves art too much to see it subordinated to any ulterior purpose. Patiently he differentiates art as something worthy of enjoyment and study for its own sake. Yet he finds art taking off from and coming back to life, as a purposive process in which the artist expresses his feeling, making it determinate by molding an object which is public. Its perceptual fullness constitutes communication through which appreciation is joined with creation. Art, centering in the handling of a physical medium, establishes continuity between the physical and the social, even dissolving the barrier between nature and art. Both are enhanced by mutual references. "The frame of art has been . . . unduly emphasized, the creative work of mind in nature underestimated." Unity of feeling, the truly aesthetic frame of art, is also selective in nature, and the selection which enters into the enjoyment of nature is tantamount to creation.

Although there is careful analysis in this book, it moves with a flow of insight to buoy the reader over technicalities. Thus it is reassuring to learn from the learned that the only way of determining what are aesthetically significant objects in nature or art is the test of satisfied imagination in one's own immediate experience. If the critic helps, it is by helping get us back to that. And lest love of art appear as something to postpone until social problems are settled, the conclusion is that "art may itself help to establish the ideals of a worthy society." Is not good architecture a powerful argument against slums? In being sensitive to the milieu the artist becomes a reconstructive force. The main obstacle in the way of a more democratic world is lack of sympathy

and understanding, for lack of adequate communication. The essence of the artist's technique is communication.

VAN METER AMES.

Books in Brief

THE WIDE NET AND OTHER STORIES. *By Eudora Welty. Harcourt, Brace & Company, $2.50.*

The world of the supernatural seems to be always just around the corner in these stories, but the visible scene is good solid earth, mostly down around Natchez, populated with men and women whose reality admits no doubt. The style is marked by microscopic observation of things and minds and by a subtlety of treatment which gives to even the most trivial events an atmosphere suggestive of implicit or impending catastrophe.

THE ARMY AND THE LAW. *By Garrard Glenn. Revised and enlarged by A. Arthur Schiller. Columbia University Press, $2.75.*

A monograph already recognized as authoritative in its field has been brought down to date by the omission of some materials no longer deemed relevant to existing conditions and by the addition of much more to answer the questions raised by the present situation. Important chapters deal with military law, military courts, and the army's legal means of exercising control over its own personnel. Of still greater general interest is the treatment of the relation of military courts to civilian populations and to the civil courts. The governing principle here is shown to be that there is no appeal from a military to a civil court for a review or reversal of a verdict if it is conceded that the military court has jurisdiction in view of the persons, the circumstances and the offense charged, but that the question of the military court's jurisdiction is always subject to final determination by the civil court. To the question whether the military authorities can suspend the writ of habeas corpus for civilians by virtue of a declaration of martial law, and can deny to the civil courts the power of issuing the writ when the courts are open and their functions are unobstructed by any other obstacle than that which the military power itself attempts to impose, the answer seems to be a very clear No. Other chapters on military law in occupied territory deal with issues which will have an increasingly important place in the public mind in the months ahead.

EXPLORING JOURNALISM, WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON ITS SOCIAL AND VOCATIONAL ASPECTS. *By R. E. Wolseley and Laurence R. Campbell. Prentice-Hall, $5.00.*

Except that they seem not to have heard of religious journalism—which in any case could have had but brief mention in such a broadly comprehensive treatise on the theory and practice of dispensing the news—the authors go far toward giving a complete survey of the art, profession and business of journalism. Newspapers are democracy's most essential institution, the most universal instrument of adult education, purveyors of amusement, molders of opinion, channels of argument, organs of party politics, promoters of sport and stimuli to industry and commerce. Also, since they are not endowed but are business enterprises operated in the hope of profit and under the necessity of making both ends meet, they must look warily to their two sources of income, advertising and circulation. In these circumstances, the practice of journalism as a profession, with keen awareness of social responsibility and primary regard for the public interest, is very difficult. But it is not impossible. The book is addressed primarily to students who are preparing to become producers of journalism. But since everybody is a consumer of it and a beneficiary of (or sufferer from) its influence on society, it should have a much wider appeal than that.

Books Received

The Triumph of Life, Poems of Consolation for the English-Speaking World. Edited by Horace Gregory. Viking Press, $2.50. This beautiful little volume in the "Viking Portable Library" contains 600 pages of poetry selected, by an authentic poet, as giving comfort and courage under the stresses of life. The title must not be taken as indicating exclusive reference to sorrow and suffering, for the chosen poems meet a much wider variety of human needs.

The Life of Ole Bull. By Mortimer Smith. Princeton University Press, $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Russian Enigma, An Interpretation. By William Henry Chamberlin. Scribners, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Growth of American Thought. By Merle Curti. Harper, $5.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Principles of Christian Ethics. By Albert C. Knudson. Abingdon-Cokesbury, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

The Battle Is the Pay-off. By Captain Ralph Ingersoll. Harcourt, $2.00. As newspaperman and correspondent, Ingersoll learned how to write. As a soldier in active service where the fighting was going on, he learned what to write, so far as concerns this volume. Training is important, he says, but the battle is what it is all for. With certain phases of the North Africa campaign as the focus of interest, Captain Ingersoll describes life at the front under conditions of actual combat and the organization and operation of large and small units, and recites individual experiences rather for illustration than for the exploitation of his personal activities. As a factual report to the nation on what modern fighting really is, this is not likely to be excelled. It has all the vividness and concreteness of the one-man's-story type of war book, with the added values of breadth of view and intelligence of understanding of the whole process.

Ambulance in Africa. By Evan Thomas. Appleton-Century, $2.00. A young fellow who leaves college in time to get the news of Pearl Harbor while he is on a transport halfway to Cape Town en route for Suez via Bombay, and serves for a year in the American Field Service driving an ambulance for the British army in Syria and North Africa, has a perfect right to write a book about it. This is just one man's story of what he did and saw, especially when things were going rather badly around El Alamein and back as far as Benghazi when the tide turned. It is neither literature nor history, but such honest and unpretentious personal records are an essential part of the total picture of the war.

A Lovely Find. By William Allen Knight. W. A. Wilde Co., 50 cents. A Christmas gift book telling the story of a modern visit to Bethlehem and the finding, under the guidance of a native boy, of a family with a baby in a manger. The discovery is that mangers were the normal cradles for children of the poor, and that the Nativity illustrated not cold inhospitality which made a stable serve as an inn but a warm welcome to the home and heart of the humble.

God Will Help You. By James Gordon Gilkey. Macmillan, $1.50. In language that anyone can read with pleasure as well as with understanding, Dr. Gilkey sets forth the reasonableness, one might say the inevitability, of belief in a God who is equally concerned about the orderly movement of the planets, the intricate functioning of the sub-microscopic mechanisms of plant and animal life, and the deeds and needs of individual human beings. Without having recourse to any outmoded theological concepts or pious but untenable presuppositions, he shows how God is an actual resource for living, especially in such a time of confusion as the present.

The Second Christmas and Other Stories. By John Haynes Holmes. Macmillan, $1.25. There have been no Christmas stories quite equal to these in clarity of religious meaning and beauty of language since "The Other Wise Man" and "The Lost Word." The volume contains three stories, the second of which, "The

True Story of the Innkeeper," was published in somewhat shortened form in The Christian Century. This book will be at or near the top of the list of Christmas books for this year, and will be a classic for many years to come.

Take Nothing for Your Journey. By Ann Steward. Macmillan, $2.50. Some subtle quality that suggests Ibsen pervades this novel, though the style is the author's own. The plot and characters carry through from her earlier novel, *Let the Earth Speak,* but with enough recapitulation to make this complete in itself. In delineation of characters and in substantial structure of plot, this is distinguished fiction.

Over the Bridge. By Patience Strong. E. P. Dutton & Co., 50 cents. Paragraphs of religious thought designed to give comfort and courage.

The Bible Question Bee. By Paul N. Elbin. Revell. Quiz questions on the Bible.

The Conscientious Objector and the Law. By Julien Cornell. John Day, $1.75. (To be reviewed.)

In Search of Maturity, an Inquiry into Psychology, Religion and Self-Education. By Fritz Kunkel. Scribners, $2.75. (To be reviewed.)

Come and See. By Helen Allen. Revell, $1.25. A very brief bird's-eye view, as in a vision, of high spots in the development of the faith from ancient days until now.

CORRESPONDENCE

Questions and Answers on the War

EDITOR'S NOTE.—So many letters have been received from our readers dealing with the war that space has allowed the publishing of only a small fraction of them. These letters raise many questions which ought to receive direct editorial comment. In lieu of their publication, we have carefully distilled from them the questions whose consideration might contribute somewhat to the clarification of the issues involved. For the most part, each question is formulated in the writer's own words. Occasionally we have taken from the context of the letter a word or phrase needed to sharpen the point of the question. But we have faithfully tried to state the writer's point. Because of the adoption of this method only the initials of each writer have been subscribed. Many of these questions appear also in letters not used. It is hoped that the writers of the unused letters will find their questions answered as fully as if their own formulations had been adopted. Our replies have had to be brief and as concise as possible. If they sometimes seem blunt or dogmatic (as, on reading them over, we fear they may), we trust the generosity of the reader to charge this to the requirements of brevity and conciseness. It has been a rewarding experience to have this "close communion" with our readers, and we hope that on their side also our effort may not be wholly without benefit.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

1. Is actual war the only human situation that you would declare to be a "necessity"?—A. V. C.

We would welcome our readers' help in answering this question. There are, of course, innumerable situations where action is determined by necessity. Life is shot through with them. Our moral freedom is a very finite possession. What freedom we have can be exercised only within limits defined by necessity. Because this is so, man is incurably religious; for religion, in contrast with simple morality, is man's reaction to the fundamental and all-embracing inexorables of life. Naturally, in the development of our discussion, we have sought for illustrations in other experiences than war, but have been unable to find one which satisfactorily matches the concrete predicament in which a nation and its citizens are placed after a war has actually begun. This may be due to the dullness of our imagination. We hesitate to say *a priori* that war is in a class by itself. Yet it may be so. If any reader is disposed to join us in the search, let him put the question to himself thus: Is there any other situation, (1) bilateral in character, (2) in whose solidarity the individual is so implicated that he is unable to extricate himself but (3) can only choose which of the two sides he will help at the expense of the other (4) without moral or Christian sanction for what he must do to express his choice of either side?

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2. Is it fair to classify both the pacifist and the soldier as "fighters," especially when the one is giving as little support as possible to the war effort while the other is giving it as much support as possible?—A. V. C.

Yes, we think it is fair, because it is a fact. Both are fighting. The pacifist who supports the war effort of his country "as little as possible" is supporting the enemy by the degree in which he withholds his support of his country. Most pacifists are really supporting both sides. But even if a pacifist should calculate that he is nicely dividing his support on a 50-50 basis, he would not thereby cancel out his participation. He would still be fighting, but with a divided self. He cannot extricate himself from the war.

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3. Would you say that one of the things for which we are fighting in this war is the right of the pacifist not to bear arms?—A. V. C.

No, quite decidedly.

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4. Does not the truth of your statement that the pacifist is "fighting on the other side" depend upon the identity of the principal enemy? If the main enemy is modern war itself, as the pacifist believes, is not your proposition baseless?—A. V. C.

To say that war is the main enemy does not, to our way of thinking, make sense. War is not an enemy; it is a hideous, monstrous and inescapable calamity which man has brought upon himself by his sin. Our questioner, however, is right in seeking to identify another enemy; but he identifies the wrong thing as this other enemy. Not war, but the sin of the nations (including ourselves) which has brought upon us the calamity of war—*that* is our other and most real enemy. Against that enemy we must wage, not war, but a moral fight for justice.

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5. Will you agree that war itself may be a greater menace to human freedom than the ideologies of Hitler and his kind?—A. V. C.

No. Actual war is not a *menace* to human freedom; it is the actualization of the menace. In the regime of war human freedom is not menaced; it is already lost.

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6. Would you say that, in order to save the "free way of life," we must win the war at any cost? If so, is it not equivalent to saying that the war must be won though freedom be lost?—A. V. C.

In the regime of war freedom is already lost. That is what war *is*—it is the loss of freedom by virtue of the abandonment of reason and morality and the commitment of our destiny to sheer brute force and cunning. The winning of the war will not save the "free way of life." The free way of life will have to be saved after the war by the same means that would have been required had there been no war. And the difficulty of exercising those means will be vastly increased as the result of our having gone to war.

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7. Will you concede that this war, like the last one, will have been fought in vain if and when that "dark picture of the future" envisaged by your recent editorial, "Faith and Peace," becomes reality?—A. V. C.

Yes, but we do not need to wait for that "dark picture" to become a reality before conceding that this war will have been fought in vain. For ourselves, we make this "concession" now. But our answer does not mean that it will make no difference who wins

this war, now that we are actually in it. It means that this war *as compared with what we might have done before the war began* will surely have been fought in vain, aye, infinitely worse than in vain. The war is going to leave the world no better off, but vastly worse off, than had it not been fought. The problem of making a just and durable peace will not be solved by the war. It will not even be eased by it. It will be made vastly harder than it would have been had we had the will to attack it before this war became inevitable. The only good thing that can possibly come out of this war is world-wide repentance. Our only assurance for the future lies in the hope that the horror and terror of another such war may bring the nations to repentance for the sins which brought on this one—a repentance so deep that it will be able to cope with the vastly increased difficulty which this war will surely add to the problem of making a decently peaceable world.

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8. You say that the pacifist "cherishes the illusion that in nursing his inward opposition to war he is following Christ." Would you say of an honest man that in cherishing his inward opposition to dishonesty he is following Christ?—A. G. S.

Our emphasis was upon *inward* opposition as contrasted with actual behavior. If the honesty of "an honest man" is only an "inward" opposition to dishonesty, while he practices dishonesty, he would surely not be following Christ. The pacifist's opposition to war, when war is actually on, is purely an inward disposition. He is unable overtly to oppose war after it has begun. He can find no way to express his inner feeling about war, but like all the rest of us is caught in the necessity of fighting and can only choose on which side he shall fight. His "opposition to war," in an actual war situation, is therefore an illusion—it cannot be geared in with any appropriate action; instead, it is contradicted by his actual behavior.

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9. Are you not, by magnifying the military necessity above the necessity of Christian compulsion, merely saying, We must obey *men* rather than God? Are you not putting into the hands of the military the power to determine when Christian people may begin to repent?—W. G. F.

We do not magnify the military necessity *above* Christian duty. The necessity which a war situation imposes is a *fact,* an unescapable fact, and the Christian will accept the necessity and find his duty to God, not in a moral vacuum, but in relation to the concrete necessity. Neither the military nor the civil government has anything to say as to when his repentance shall begin. His repentance is not for the necessity of fighting—he cannot repent of a necessity—but for his share in the common guilt which brought on the war. His repentance should begin now in the midst of the fighting.

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10. Notwithstanding your statement concerning pacifists and a tortured conscience, I cannot feel that it is either necessary or wholesome for me, a pacifist, to have a tortured conscience. I pray for a sensitive conscience. I feel my shortcomings. I sense my failure to match my opportunities. What am I to do?—S. J.

Several letters like the above have indicated a misapprehension of our statement concerning the conscience of the pacifist. We see no reason why the convinced pacifist should have a tortured conscience, beyond what our correspondent calls a sensitive conscience over his normal human shortcomings. So long as he believes that it is possible for him to have no part in the war, and that he really has no part in it, his conscience should be (relatively) clear. Our concern was to show him that his clear conscience was based on an illusion, that he was willy-nilly engaged in the fighting and that his every attempt to withdraw from the fighting only resulted in his fighting on the other side.

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11. On your premise that the conscientious objector fights on the side of the enemy, should he not be tried for treason and executed?—R. L.

He would be treated in some such fashion if he were in a totalitarian country. But he is a citizen of a democratic country, and democracy recognizes that the conscience of its citizens is its ultimate bulwark. To override conscience by absolute coercion is to destroy democracy at its foundation. Yet the system adopted by our government represents a compromise of this principle, for the policy of isolating the conscientious objectors in camp or in special assignments obviously involves coercion. The policy is a compromise—both on the part of the nation and on the part of the conscientious objector. The absolutist, on the other hand, who refuses to accept this compromise, is sent to prison even in our democracy. This is theoretically undemocratic and reveals the stultification to which democracy is driven by military necessity. The absolutist, by refusing to accept any compromise, puts himself in the position of fighting absolutely on the enemy side, and is treated, in theory, as a traitor. No doubt, if the absolutist could suggest some way by which he could escape fighting at all, *on either side,* our democratic government would be only too glad to let him take it. Such a way, however, is inconceivable.

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12. I grant that the action of the conscientious objector weakens the military strength of the country and to that extent helps the enemy. But what have you to say of the conscientious objector who works in a mental hospital or any of the worthwhile tasks to which he may be assigned? Surely he is not helping Japan or Germany. He is helping his own country.—R. L.

The question answers itself. He is indeed helping his own country, just as all of us, except traitors and seditionists, are helping our own country. The conscientious objector who accepts such a task is a part of the war regime in the same sense that a minister, for example, who accepts exemption from the draft is a part of the war regime. Both are fighting for their country in the way assigned them by the military authority. No one can escape from *fighting* when his *nation* is fighting. As a contributor to the strength of the nation, he supports the men at the front who hurl the bombs. He might just as well, so far as his moral position is concerned, be hurling the bombs himself.

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13. Jesus lived in a war situation, yet he refused to take sides in the wars of his time. Should he not therefore have had a tortured conscience for aiding the enemies of his country?—S. J.

The belief that Jesus lived in a war situation is an egregious error which has strangely gained wide credence in pacifist circles. Jesus lived in a peace situation. He never came in contact with actual war, nor did his teaching envision it.

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14. When Jesus stood against the Jewish patriots and said, "Give unto Caesar what is Caesar's," was he thereby fighting on the side of the Romans? He was weakening the cause of the independence of his own people by not supporting it, but he took his stand nevertheless.—R. L.

The Jews and the Romans were not at war. They were at peace. Though it was the peace of tyranny, it was not war. To "weaken the cause of the independence" of your nation may be bad, but it is not *fighting* against your nation. It may indeed be better strategy for the ultimate winning of your nation's independence than to incite to a war foredoomed to terrible defeat.

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15. The dilemma in which a Christian is caught in wartime, you say, is due to the fact that war is a "bilateral phenomenon," and "we all are inextricably caught in its two-sidedness." Is there not a *third* side? War is an argument which has come to the point of blows. Does it not, like every argument, have three sides: our side, their side and the right or Christian side? Is it not possible for Christianity to "get hold of both sides [of a war] at once" and oppose it?—F. F.

There is food for thought in this question, but it must be discriminating thought. (1) War is not an argument; it is the end of all argument. It is the appeal from argument to brute force. (2) There is, indeed, a third side, as our correspondent suggests. It is God's side, and the Christian church (the concrete term for "Christianity") is on that side. The church is not at war—unless

it stultifies itself. Its mission is to interpret God's side of the war, that is, to proclaim what the war is in the light of the Christian revelation of God. The Christian church can, most truly, and should, "get hold of both sides of a war at once," though it cannot oppose it, for it wields no weapon which is applicable in the realm of brute force. Yet it can "take hold of both sides at once" on behalf of a rational and just settlement of the war when the war has either run its full course, or has reached a point where its end in the victory of one side may be apparent to both sides.

But what is possible for the Christian church, as church, is not possible for the Christian citizen. The citizen is "inextricably caught in the two-sidedness of war," but the church is not, because the church is not a citizen of the warring state. It stands outside of the state, outside of both warring states; it is under no obligation to either belligerent state. It is not here because the state either causes or allows it to be here; it is here because God put it here, among other things, to save the state by declaring God's will for the state.

In time of war it is the church's task to proclaim that the war is God's judgment upon the nation for the common guilt in which each belligerent nation shares, and shares without distinction of degree, before him. It is the church's task to call the nation to repentance and regeneration with respect to its policies of selfish nationalism and other policies, whether blind or deliberate, which led to the war. It is also the task of the church to interpret to its own members who are citizens of the state and are caught inextricably in the two-sidedness of the conflict so that they have no alternative but to fight—to interpret to them the same need of repentance for the sin which has brought on the war, a sin which they share by virtue of their solidarity with the common life of their nation. This is the church's way of "getting hold of both sides of a war at once."

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16. You say: "The Christian Century would welcome a negotiated peace at any time." Would you favor "bilateral negotiation of the belligerents before they surrender" if negotiations were arranged through some intermediary? How can the Axis governments be deprived of their power to do evil through negotiations short of their military defeat?—R. M. T.

Yes, we would favor negotiations for peace at any time. We regard the term "unconditional surrender" as most unfortunate. It is not antithetical to "negotiated peace." As used at Casablanca by Churchill and Roosevelt it was hardly more than a form of military rodomontade. The term was made famous by Grant at Fort Donalson, but it applied only to that local situation, not to the Confederacy as a whole. When Lee surrendered at Appomattox he already knew what the conditions were. Lincoln and the north had made the conditions abundantly clear from the outset of the war. Surrender was to mean the return of the Confederate states to the union. The surrender was the acceptance of those conditions. The surrender of Italy was heralded as "unconditional," but it was also "negotiated." Eisenhower gave his terms to Badoglio, and Badoglio accepted them.

The issue as between a "negotiated peace" and a military victory is not between an "easy peace" and a "hard peace." A negotiated peace before surrender may be just as "hard" as the peace which would follow a definitive military victory. It will register the military realities which obtain at the time of the negotiations. If one side is convinced that its defeat is imminent, the conditions arrived at by negotiation will be substantially the same as the potential victor would impose were the struggle to be carried to a knockout. If both sides are exhausted and uncertain of the outcome, there will be give and take in the negotiations. But neither side will take the initiative in asking for negotiations so long as it has hopes of winning the war. To ask for negotiations is to betray military weakness and only intensifies the determination of the enemy to win.

The point which The Christian Century was emphasizing was the importance of stating our post-victory aims now, before victory is attained. A declaration of these aims would be, in effect, the same as laying down our cards, face up, on the table of a negotiating conference with the enemy. By declaring our postwar aims the enemy would know in advance what our terms are and, while fighting, could weigh them against the cost of continuing the struggle. These terms—postwar aims—could be as hard or as generous as if they were presented at a negotiating conference.

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17. I believe, despite your apparent opinion to the contrary, that the promised peace of God is not an illusion in the inner experience of sincere pacifists.—T. L. P.

And so also do we, despite our correspondent's implied attribution to us of a contrary opinion. The Christian pacifist who believes he is doing the will of God in "refusing to fight" his brother, and the Christian militarist who believes he is doing the will of God in fighting and killing the wicked enemy, are both entitled in good conscience to claim the peace of God in their hearts. That peace is anything but an illusion. Yet here are two equally sincere Christians who derive the peace of God from absolutely contrary bases of motivation. The question with which The Christian Century is concerned is whether the *basis* of this peace of God is valid in the one case or in the other. We are compelled to reject its validity in both cases. In the case of the militarist, because we do not believe that it is the will of God that he should fight. In the case of the pacifist, because we believe that his "refusal to fight" is itself an illusion—he cannot escape fighting. Our problem is, therefore, to discover, if we can, the true basis upon which the Christian may validly find peace of soul in wartime. The constructive thesis with which our readers are familiar is our answer.

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18. You say that the necessity of our participation in war is the price which God demands in payment for our sins.—A. S. G.

No, we do not say that. We say that the necessity of participation in war is the "price" man pays for his sins and the "price" God himself pays for having endowed man with freedom to defy him. God does not "demand" this hideous price from man; man by his sin imposes it on both himself and God.

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19. When war comes as a result of following those methods which so many of us oppose, the pacifist minority feel all the more strongly that the *true necessity* is an intensified continuation of the waging of peace, rather than a suddenly intensified continuation of the methods of war; and the pacifist can rightly claim that it becomes a true opposition to the fundamental forces of war, regardless of the fate of the state.—A. S. G.

We wish to subscribe heartily to this penetrating statement, though it is made by our correspondent as if it were opposed to our position. The only modification we would suggest is to substitute for "the true necessity," the words "the Christian's *duty*," thus reserving "necessity" for its precise connotation. It is the Christian's duty, even while he accepts the necessity of his involvement in the war, to intensify his activity in the waging of peace. This intensified activity for peace is the fruit of his repentance for the sin which plunged him into the necessity of fighting.

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20. All of us do, indeed, as you say, support the war effort in some way. But do not all of us oppose the war effort in some way? Most of us oppose it unknowingly. We are careless in our jobs. We refuse to buy all the bonds we can buy. Pacifists simply take further and more effective steps. They refuse to bear arms. Naturally, they pay no income tax if they are in C.P.S. camps. [Those who have independent income pay income tax.—EDITOR.] Most of them, if not all, refuse to buy bonds. They oppose the war effort as well as support it. All of us do.—I. S.

The point at issue in our discussion is not whether the pacifist supports or opposes the "war effort" of his country, but whether he opposes *war*. Insofar as he supports his country's war effort he obviously supports war; and insofar as he withdraws his support from his country's war effort he supports the enemy's war effort and so supports war. That is the predicament in which war places every citizen, pacifist or non-pacifist.

A further installment of questions and answers will appear in next week's issue.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Democracy Gains In the Caribbean

Jamaica Promised Universal Suffrage—Illiteracy, Poverty and Fascism Plague British Possession

(Special Correspondence)

KINGSTON, JAMAICA, Oct. 12.—The arrival here three weeks ago of Sir John Huggins, the new governor of Jamaica, has stimulated political discussion because he said in his first address that he would give immediate attention to the adoption of the new constitution. That document will likely go into effect by midyear of 1944. As it grants universal suffrage to both men and women, the hustings are echoing with pre-election oratory. Three parties now compete for attention: the Labor party, the Peoples National party and the Jamaica Democratic party. A fourth, called the Jag Smith party (for J. A. G. Smith, a Jamaican political leader now dead), was organized last week.

Race Issue Creates Tension

Alexander Bustamante, a semi-literate brown Jamaican, is leader of the Labor party. N. W. Manley, his cousin, another brown Jamaican, who is a former Rhodes scholar and perhaps the most able barrister in the island, is the brains and voice of the Peoples National party. A white named Kirkwood heads the Jamaica Democratic party. The press mentioned several prominent black Jamaicans as moving figures in the organization of the new Jag Smith party. While there are no racial lines drawn here on a legal basis, no Jimcrowism, there is much race feeling and people are classified as black, colored or white.

Bustamante Heads 'Labor'

It is generally admitted that Bustamante has the largest following and can elect more candidates than any other man in Jamaica. He has uncanny power with either crowds or mobs. His ability to get them to do what he wants done is an interesting study in mass psychology. The government held him largely responsible for instigating the 1938-39 strikes when a total of about 500,000 persons went on the march. This in a population of less than 1,250,000 shook the island from end to end and started a tidal wave which dashed against the shores of England. Bustamante was arrested and held without bail. Mr. Manley was among the lawyers who testified for him and secured his release. He stepped from prison in the role of a hero. Later he was again imprisoned, this time for 17 months, but that further enhanced his power over the multitudes. In Kingston after his first imprisonment he quieted mobs and sent strikers back to their jobs at increased wages secured for them by Manley, who almost at once became a mediator. When the uprising spread to other parts of the island, he and Manley went together to restore order.

I went to see Bustamante. He talked to me rapidly for an hour. He ran his fingers through his thinning hair and it stood up. His eyes flashed. His voice boomed. He spoke of his hold on the people through his imagination and faith in God. He declared that he could become the first prime minister of Jamaica under the new constitution if he, like Manley, would preach immediate independence and self-rule. But, said he, the people are not ready for that. They must learn the duties of citizenship. When I asked him what the issue in the coming elections will be, he replied in general, indefinite terms that the rights of the common people are involved. The Peoples National party, he said, is dangerous because it has a strong communist element.

Corporation Lawyer Joins Labor

My interview with N. W. Manley of the Peoples National party was more enlightening. He speaks calmly, defines issues clearly, states opinions convincingly. His description of the "march of the common man" and his evaluation of the upsurge of feeling since 1938 among the masses in Jamaica was illuminating. Manley spoke modestly of his part as a mediator between capital and labor. He had been a corporation lawyer for years but the strike was not more than 24 hours old when he went to employers to plead the cause of labor and also announced through the press and otherwise that he would give legal service free of charge to any workers who needed his advice.

Manley Leads Reform Movement

Manley's contribution to the settlement of labor difficulties was appreciated by both workers and employers. The 1938-39 unrest among the masses convinced him that enlightened social service policies and programs for the islanders were imperative. He had very little, if any, political interest and no desire at all, he told me, to become personally involved in politics. But he soon discovered that Bustamante planned to exploit, rather than serve, the people. In order to guard against that, he began to organize small groups of the most intelligent men and women in each community to engage in informal education and to initiate changes in economic, social and moral conditions. It is these groups which constitute the hope of the Peoples National party. They have naturally turned to Manley for leadership and he is now actively campaigning.

'Labor' Uses Fascist Tactics

When I asked Manley what issues would determine the results of the first election under the new constitution, he sadly replied, "None. It will be a campaign of personalities. Bustamante has already instructed his henchmen to break up every meeting we try to hold. The real issues will have no hearing." He declared that Bustamante has demonstrated in his labor union, which now has 125,000 members, that he is a fascist in his philosophy and a dictator in his methods. The constitution, written before the union had any members,

(Continued on page 1240)

Plans Made for Postwar Changes

Portland Employs Big Staff to Outline Work for 100,000—Observe Centenary of Arrival of Covered Wagon

(Correspondence from Oregon)

PORTLAND, Oct. 11.—The war's end will throw approximately 100,000 shipyard workers in this area out of employment. Portland is taking postwar planning seriously. At a cost of $100,000 Park Commissioner Robert Moses of New York city, with a staff of 50 experts, is now engaged in a 60-day study of the Portland area to devise a non-political, comprehensive program of activities to absorb labor when released from war industries. The experts are surveying every aspect of community life—city government, public and private building, harbor installations, airfields, schools, rail and highway facilities, parks and recreation. Religious forces are also looking toward the future. The Portland council of churches has invited interdenominational leaders and denominational executives to conduct a planning conference shortly after the first of the year preparatory to meeting the challenge of postwar needs and problems.

* * *

Willamette Reviews U. S. History

Willamette University, Salem, in cooperation with the University of Oregon and the *Oregonian*, pioneer newspaper, is conducting a five-week institute in American history. Its aim is "to develop intelligent patriotism and to inculcate loyalty to our country in the minds and hearts of our citizens through a broad knowledge of American history and a realization of the part America has taken in the development of a cultural civilization." Class work in American personalities familiarizes the student with outstanding leaders and their contributions. An important phase of the course relates to government, presenting a historic approach to the development of traditions, ideals and aspirations that have helped mold American democracy. A strong faculty has been assembled and state-wide interest has been focused upon the project.

* * *

Oregon Commemorates Trail Centennial

A hundred years ago the first covered wagon train entered the Oregon country. In that year—1843—civil government in Oregon was first established. The Oregon Trail centennial is being commemorated by western states, in cities and villages along the route taken by the pioneers. Portland's plan for a centennial exposition were abandoned because of the war; however, schools, clubs and churches are celebrating the event. In August Portland entertained the national convention of the American Pioneer Trails Association. Over the old Oregon trail came the founders of

the Pacific northwest. *Wagons West*, an illustrated historical booklet, has been published by the state of Oregon. Copies may be secured without cost from the Old Oregon Trail Centennial Commission, Portland.

* * *

Conduct Services of Worship In Shipyards

At the request of workers, the Portland council of churches is conducting worship services each Sunday from 11:30 to noon in the Kaiser company's Swan Island shipyard. Hundreds gather during the lunch period at the yard's victory center and the programs are broadcast by loudspeaker throughout the plant, so that many thousands of men and women hear the service. Ministers and singers from Portland churches are sharing in this unique ministry.

* * *

And So Forth

"Pastors' Day" is being observed Oct. 17 for the sixth consecutive year by the churches in the northwest. The movement originated among laymen in Portland. Its purpose is to encourage pastors by full attendance of church members on the designated day.

Thomas Franklyn Hudson, former executive secretary of the presbytery of Los Angeles, has assumed the pastorate of Portland's important Westminster Presbyterian Church, succeeding Perry Hopper, who has gone to First Church, Long Beach, Calif.

Negro shipyard workers are fighting discrimination by the boilermakers' union which refused them membership but allows them to work under the "permit" system. James J. Clow, Negro churchman, was recently sent to Washington by the workers to seek governmental intervention in their behalf.

Oregon's governor brands as untrue the statement broadcast in the press and commented on editorially in The Christian Century (July 14) to the effect that he was negotiating the purchase of additional liquor supplies for state-owned stores, profits from which provide old age assistance, "so that the old folks of Oregon can eat." Governor Snell, in a statement to the churches, calls the report "more than a misquotation."

RAYMOND B. WALKER.

Shafer Joins Staff of Church Peace Group

Luman J. Shafer, secretary of the Reformed Church Board of Missions, has recently been granted a year's leave of absence to become co-secretary with Walter W. Van Kirk of the department of international justice and good will of the Federal Council of Churches. He also becomes co-secretary of the commission to study the bases of a just and durable peace.

Paul Urges Extermination Of Japanese Militarists

Alexander Paul, secretary of the United Christian Missionary Society (Disciples of Christ) and former missionary to China, told the Colorado Christian churches in their recent meeting that "the Japanese militarists who completely rule Japan must be exterminated—completely exterminated—by the Allied powers for the sake of Japan as well as of the world."

Georgians Attack Liquor Traffic

Churchmen Organize Group to Work for Prohibition—Legislature Meets to Reform Old Prison System

(Correspondence from Georgia)

MACON, Oct. 11.—Two hundred and fifty leading Georgia churchmen, representing 95 counties and several denominations, met in Atlanta recently and launched a united and militant crusade against the liquor traffic in the state. The gathering was convened by a letter of invitation sent to some 400 pastors and laymen by Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Methodist; President J. R. McCain of Agnes Scott College, Presbyterian; Louie D. Newton, pastor of the Druid Hills Baptist Church; and C. R. Stauffer, pastor of the First Christian Church. Speakers on the program included, in addition to the above, Eugene Cook, state revenue commissioner; Samuel H. Sibley, judge of the U. S. circuit court of appeals; William B. Hartsfield, mayor of Atlanta; and Willis A. Sutton, superintendent of the Atlanta public schools. As a consequence of the meeting a new and permanent dry organization, known as the Georgia Temperance League, was formed with C. Layton Shepherd, prominent lawyer, Christian layman and lifelong foe of alcoholic beverages, as president. The cooperation of existing temperance agencies, such as the W.C.T.U. and the Anti-Saloon League, was pledged in advance.

* * *

Aim is State-wide Prohibition

Announcing as its ultimate purpose the restoration of state-wide prohibition, the league adopted a number of more immediate objectives, namely: (1) The return of wet counties to the dry column through the processes of referendum. (2) The passage of legislation to prohibit throughout the state the advertising of any and all types of alcoholic beverages in newspapers and magazines, on billboards and the radio, or through any other medium. (3) The enactment of a constitutional provision which will eliminate the use of liquor revenues for the support of public schools and the purchase of textbooks. (4) The abolition of the liquor trade operating in legally dry counties under federal licenses. (5) The waging of a sustained fight against bootleggers, whose activities are on the increase in virtually every community in Georgia.

* * *

Legislature Enacts Prison Reforms

Because Georgia's penal system was in a condition so deplorable and disgraceful as to demand immediate reform, Gov. Ellis Arnall called a special session of the general assembly in September to enact legislation for its correction. During the five days they were in Atlanta the lawmakers passed a number of constructive measures designed to abolish features of the system which the governor described as "primitive, inhumane, cruel and archaic." In adopting the governor's 28-point platform, the assembly did away with the old three-member prison commission and authorized the appointment of a director of corrections to take over the complete administration of the penal system. In describing the type of man desired for this responsible position, the governor said: "I am looking for a man who is not a politician. I want an able and experienced executive who can be firm but is not cruel. I want a man who is a Christian and is interested in the rehabilitation of his fellow men."

* * *

Interracial Committees Seek To Allay Race Tension

One of the most salutary trends in Florida just now is the numerical increase and the constructive activities of local interracial committees. The state's commission on interracial cooperation reports that committees are functioning well in Orlando, Winter Park, St. Petersburg, Gainesville, Tallahassee, Fort Pierce, Ocala and Lakeland. Many others are in process of organization. The interracial committees of ministerial associations throughout the state have been vitally instrumental in forming these community committees. In Jacksonville there is an interracial ministerial alliance, operating under a constitution approved by both white and Negro pastors' conferences, which claims that it is qualified to deal with all racial problems before they become acute. St. Petersburg's interracial committee has as its avowed purpose "to uphold the rights of all peoples, regardless of race, religion or creed, in economic phases of life." Mayor William Beardall of Orlando staged a formal ceremony at the city hall in reappointing the 14 members of the interracial committee, seven of whom are Negroes. Unrest among Miami Negroes has led the city commission to appoint an interracial committee of six, three whites and three Negroes.

* * *

Promote Narcotic Education

A vigorous campaign of instruction concerning the evils of alcohol is being conducted in Florida by the state cooperative committee for narcotics education. The committee, on which virtually all educational agencies in the state, both church and non-church, are represented, recently appointed Fred Barnett as director of its program. Mr. Barnett, who is thoroughly scientific in his treatment of the subject, has been working in the public schools, where he has spoken to approximately 65,000 boys and girls. From now on he will specialize in work with out-of-school groups and churches. This program in the public schools, which has been financed principally by Florida Baptists and Methodists, will be continued under the auspices of the state department of education.

* * *

And So Forth

During the past year $100,000 has been added to the endowment of Columbia Theological Seminary, Atlanta. The institution's total endowment, now $750,000, represents an increase of 100 per cent during a ten-year period.

The destruction by fire of four suburban churches in the Pensacola area within two months has led authorities to investigate for possible incendarism, and prompted citizens to start a reward fund for the conviction of those guilty if such is found to be the cause.

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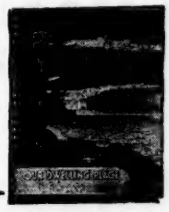

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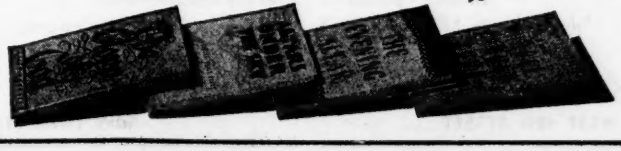


REFORM IN JAMAICA

(Continued from page 1237)

provided that Bustamante would be its president at a salary of $8,000 per year. It also states that an executive committee of one shall have power to hire and fire all officials. Bustamante is the one.

Catholics Back Fascist

The P.N. party has announced that it is socialist in its political philosophy. Manley believes that its left-wing members can be better controlled within than without the ranks of the party. They constitute only a small minority. The party does not seek immediate independence and self-government. "There must be a considerable period of apprenticeship under the new constitution," Manley said. "If unskilled hands now tried to guide the government, this most important experiment since the emancipation of the slaves in Jamaica a hundred years ago would fail." Bustamante is joined by the Roman Catholic Church in opposing Manley's party and priests have condemned it from their pulpits. The businessmen's party, the Jamaica Democratic, Manley assured me, has no chance of winning places in the new legislature and knows it; so its leaders have approached Bustamante with a proposition that he protect the interests of capitalism. "The check to seal the transaction has already changed hands and I can name the figure on it," Manley said with fervor.

Plans Rural Reconstruction

At this point in the interview, I dropped a suggestion regarding the kind of rural reconstruction work I had been discussing with the representatives of our church in Jamaica. "Now you've hit on a subject that interests me far more than politics," Manley exclaimed. "But it would take another hour to go into that. You asked for this interview; I'm asking you for another so that you can give me the details of what you are planning." Two weeks later when we met again, I discovered that Manley's analysis of the social needs of his people was every bit as discerning as, and his concerns for meeting those needs even more acute than, his political interests. Not as a mere honor has he been president of Jamaica Welfare, Ltd., since its organization five or six years ago. What he said supplemented and summarized facts I had collected, impressions I had received from many sources, and judgments I had formed during my month's study here.

More Crowded than China

Jamaica's population is predominantly rural. Kingston, the capital and largest city, has only 120,000 inhabitants. The soil has been wasted and worked to death. There are more persons per square mile than in China proper, where a rural family of 4.2 persons must live on an average of about 6.5 acres. (In the U.S.A. that number of rural people has 157 acres). But this figure does not tell the whole story. Approximately 200,000 farm families have less than 500,000 acres of tillable land on which to live. Poverty and undernourishment hound the people.

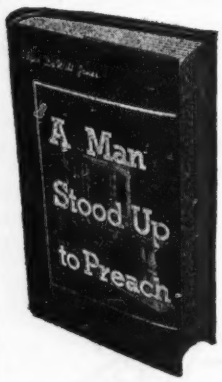
Schools Neglect Needs

Illiteracy contributes to the misery. More than half of the total population and perhaps more than 60 per cent of the rural population can neither read nor write. The school system provides elementary education for less than half the children of school age. Attendance, not being compulsory, is irregular. With a few exceptions, the schools are intended to prepare children for the Cambridge examinations, which only a very limited number can take. Little of value to Jamaican life is taught in them. There are only 23 government secondary schools. Few children go to high school and fewer still to England or America for university work. Agriculture, the base of the island's life, is neglected, as are arts and crafts.

Governments Aware of Conditions

The British government is aware of these and other needs in Jamaica. The Stockdale report, based on studies in all the British West Indies made by specialists in education, agriculture, social service and the like, contains sound recommendations for reconstruction. Appropriations have already been made for some of this work. Trained personnel from abroad is now engaged in training Jamaicans to do much of it. The Anglo-American commission, headed by Sir John Huggins, who recently resigned to become the governor of Jamaica, is bringing to bear upon all the West Indies the best judgment of both the United States and England. But governments always move slowly and any church organization which is prepared now to undertake rural reconstruction through demonstration centers under properly trained leadership will receive hearty cooperation from government and semi-government agencies and may set standards and illustrate methods of inestimable value to everyone concerned.

E. K. Higdon.



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Negro Center is Allowed to Build

Indianapolis Project Granted Priorities for Construction—Disciples Plan Conference on World Order

(Correspondence from Indiana)

INDIANAPOLIS, Oct. 15.—Construction has been started on two new $55,000 units of Flanner House, social service center which serves the Negro population on the near west side of Indianapolis. That necessary priorities have been secured is regarded as a tribute to the high character of this institution's work. It is also evidence of the confidence which the people of Indianapolis have in Cleo Blackburn, the brilliant young superintendent of Flanner House. The city park board has given the use of the land on which the buildings are being erected. Nursery, clinic, library, offices and educational, employment and social service departments are to be housed in the new structures, which were designed by Hilyard R. Robinson, Negro architect. A Friends work camp will contribute labor, as will many clients of Flanner House.

* * *

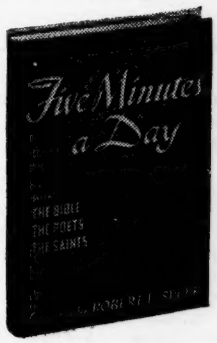
Guided Recreation Sharply Undercuts Delinquency

Mayor Baker of New Castle reports that a program of guided recreation has brought a drop of 90 per cent in juvenile offenses. Some months ago, seeing that juvenile hoodlumism was getting out of hand, the mayor conferred with the young chief of police, Don Young, and decided upon a 10:30 curfew for unemployed children under 18. He also began to clear minors out of taverns. Through the cooperation of the welfare board, civic clubs, the chamber of commerce, parent-teacher groups and church organizations, a constructive program was launched. This included the raising of adequate funds for operating a large number of well located playgrounds under proper supervision. Both the city council and the school board have increased their budgets in order to buy new equipment and enlarge the services next year. Requests for information about the program have come from other Indiana municipalities.

* * *

Disciples to Discuss 'New World Mind'

Three Disciples national boards with headquarters in Indianapolis have announced a representative nation-wide conference on "The Church and the New World Mind" to be held in connection with a lectureship at Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 1-4, 1944. The chief lecturer, Prof. W. E. Hocking, will make three addresses during the conference. Six other lecturers of international note will be announced at an early date. Delegates to the conference will be limited to approximately 300 pastors, educators, and lay men and women. In order to bring a larger number into participation in this study it is planned to set up nine seminars in as many cities. To each of these will be assigned one of the lecture themes, with instructions to bring to the Drake conference a paper on that theme. These papers



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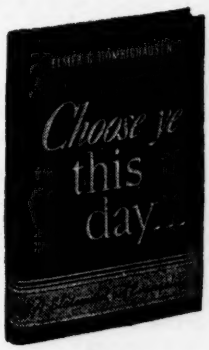

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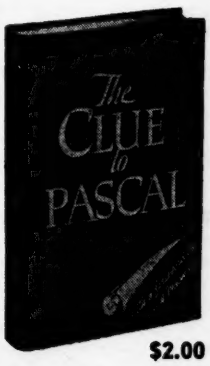

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together with the lectures will form the basis for discussion periods.

* * *

Meeting Is Not 'Promotional'

While the three national boards—agencies of missions, higher education and Christian unity—will join with the university in financing the Des Moines conference, they announce that the meeting will in no sense be promotional, but will be concerned wholly with the role of the church in developing attitudes of world-mindedness which will help along efforts at bringing about a just and durable peace. Members of the conference committee express the hope that through this gathering the Disciples, themselves a midwestern people, may make some contribution toward the breaking down of traditional midwestern isolationism. C. E. Lemmon, president of the International Convention of Disciples of Christ, is chairman of the committee, and W. F. Rothenburger is executive director of the conference.

* * *

China Colleges Are Still Operating

President Wu Yi-fang of Ginling College, China's well known interdenominationally operated college for women, recently spent two days in Indianapolis. She spoke at a luncheon of the Smith College alumnae association and before several church groups. Dr. Wu, who is the only woman member of the Chinese Political Council, is here as a member of a study group on postwar educational problems.

* * *

Churchwomen Plan New Activities

Fall events announced by the Indiana council of churchwomen indicate something of the scope of the work carried on by that active organization. Among the projects planned by the council or in which it is cooperating are schools of missions for adults and for youth, an institute for alcoholic education and a conference on the rural home. Support is being given to the World Order Missions and special emphasis is being placed on the observance of World Community Day on Nov. 11.

* * *

Dr. Parry Leaves Disciples Staff

Erwin Shaver, director of weekday schools of religion for the International Council of Religious Education, was guest speaker at the annual ministers' retreat of the Indianapolis ministerial association on Sept. 27. A feature of the day's program was a symposium in which 11 denominational representatives spoke on their denominational programs for the year. Wilbur Parry was the chief speaker and discussion leader in an hour given to "The Causes and Cure of Decreased Church School Attendance." Dr. Parry is leaving Indianapolis next month to become director of religious education for the Los Angeles church federation and the council of churches of southern California.

* * *

And So Forth

Cleland B. McAfee, former moderator of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., is in Indianapolis for a series of lectures in various churches which will extend through most of October and November.

GEORGE WALKER BUCKNER, JR.

Debate Education Of All Prisoners

Wisconsin Newspapers Support Plan of Rehabilitation—Madison Finds Jobs and Churches for Evacuees

(Correspondence from Wisconsin)

MADISON, Oct. 13.—The temporary absence in military service of John Burke, warden of the state prison at Waupun, has led to the nomination of Chester Allen, on the extension faculty of the University of Wisconsin, as acting warden. Before accepting the appointment Mr. Allen proposed the inauguration of a prison rehabilitation program. One feature of this program would be an opportunity for every prisoner to spend at least three months of his sentence in a full-time prison school, to discover his special aptitudes and capacities and develop them for later vocational support. But now Frank C. Klode, director of the state department of public welfare, who originally solicited Mr. Allen's application for the appointment, complains that the modest educational program would turn the penal institution into a university. His view is opposed by newspapers of many shades of opinion and liberal groups throughout the state, who urge the adoption of Mr. Allen's program as a farsighted plan for personal and social reconstruction which would not interfere with the regular function of the prison.

* * *

Stanley Jones Opens Forum

The university religious council opened a series of monthly Sunday evening "campus convocations" on Oct. 3 with E. Stanley Jones as speaker. The well filled university theater heard him cordially introduced by President Clarence Dykstra. His subject was, "What May a Modern Person Believe?" Frankly acknowledging that Pearl Harbor had caused him to change his general theme in these times from "What Kind of World Do We Want?" to "How We Can Have Faith in Christ," the world missionary spoke briefly on the rational grounds for faith in God and a moral universe, and then successfully held the attention of the audience, from underclassmen to adult citizens, with some sound lecturing on the misbehavior patterns of young America. The meeting is regarded as an auspicious beginning to the series in which are to appear Prof. Walter Horton of the Oberlin School of Theology, Howard Thurman of Howard University, Washington, and Bernard Iddings Bell.

* * *

Tuesday Evening Forum Discusses Religion

Koinos, campus religious discussion group, is sponsoring six Tuesday evening forums in which as many student pastors will lead. The leaders and the subjects are as follows: Rev. Cecil Lower, Presbyterian, "Is Belief in God Essential to Living?" Rev. Leonard Detweiler, Congregationalist, "Is the Church a Constructive or Reactionary Force in Modern Society?" Rev. Kenneth Patton, Unitarian, "What Does an Increased Knowledge of Science Do for One's Religion?" Rev. Oscar Adam, Methodist, "What Does Religion Do for the Individual and Society?" Rabbi Theodore Gordon, Hillel Foundation, "Christianity and Judaism Compare Notes." Rev. Gordon Gillett, Episcopalian, "Can Religion Help Us in Our Attempt to Build a Just Society?"

* * *

City Extends Welcome to Japanese-Americans

The Madison committee on the resettlement of Japanese-Americans, cooperating with the War Relocation Authority, has assisted in the coming to and employment in Madison of 75 relocatees in a population area of 75,000—about twice the ratio necessary to resettle the entire group throughout the country. Employment has been given to nurses, secretaries, garage workers, domestics, accountants, lawyers, farmers, a laboratory technician and a laundry operator. Housing has been the most difficult problem. Several of the relocated families are active in churches. One young man was president of the state young people's group of his church. On the local resettlement committee are a past commander of the American Legion, the mayor of the city, a supreme court justice, Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. secretaries, the president of the association of commerce, a Catholic priest, and several university professors and Protestant ministers. The community attitude has been receptive and cooperative. The university campus is not yet open to Japanese-American students, presumably because of the presence of a naval training unit on the campus.

* * *

And So Forth

The university enrollment, usually 11,000, is down to 5,000, of whom less than 1,000 are men. In addition there are some 4,000 persons in a variety of uniforms. University pastors act as civilian chaplains to all trainees, while continuing to serve civilian students. Among night classes open to the public is an excellent series of lectures on the postwar world order, in which almost every member of the political and social science, the geography and history faculties participates. The course is meant primarily for adult citizens.

The state council of churches, Rev. Arthur Adams, director, is sponsoring cooperative religious leadership at the Badger Ordnance Works, where a returned missionary from Siam is stationed; at the Sturgeon Bay shipyards, where a Lutheran deaconess has been family visitor; and at the Austerdale housing project near the Manitowoc shipyards.

ALFRED W. SWAN.

King George Decorates American Missionary

Sam Higgenbottom, missionary of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., in Allahabad, India, was recently given a bar to be added to the gold Kaiser-i-Hind medal which he received in 1924. This award included mention in the king's Birthday Honors List and is said in the release issued by the mission board's publicity department to be "the equivalent of a second medal." Dr. Higgenbottom also "received the King George Silver Jubilee medal in 1935 and the Coronation medal in 1937 for service in India." He has pioneered in rural work. In 1939-40 he was moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly.

American Books Raise a Storm

Mexico Aroused by Attacks on Missions and Charges Concerning Falange—Celebrate Independence Day

(Correspondence from Mexico)

MEXICO, D. F., Sept. 22.—Two recent American books on Mexico have been the subject of hot controversy. They are *Our Good Neighbor Hurdle,* by John W. White (Bruce), and *Falange, the Secret Nazi Army in the Americas,* by Allan Chase (Putnam). White's book has been hailed by Catholic spokesmen as the gist of truth on Protestant missions in Latin America and their bearing on international relations. Chase's book has been unanimously repudiated by both conservative and liberal reviewers as a concoction of falsehoods. As a matter of fact, it is White's book that is a concoction of falsehoods. White repeats without discrimination all the gossip that goes around among Catholic bigots about Protestant missions. Chase is right in his main thesis. Falange, the Franco organization in Latin America, *is* the spearhead of the secret nazi army in these countries. But he made a bad mistake in his statement of evidence. He mixed up his information and put in the same basket some outstanding and well known anti-nazi writers and even pro-communist people, along with a few notorious sympathizers of Franco. Still worse, he mistook the Mexican Academy of Language, which includes scholars of different political affiliation, for the main Franco agency in Mexico.

* * *

Celebrate National Independence Day

Commemoration of our Independence Day, Sept. 15, brought to the nation's capital not only the regular flow of tourists, but three distinguished visitors from the United States on a good-will trip: General George Marshall; Nelson Rockefeller, coordinator of inter-American affairs; and Francis Biddle, attorney general. They were the guests of honor of the Mexican government during the celebrations, which included the annual military parade. On this occasion there was a special feature, namely, the first appearance in the parade of boys conscripted for military service, class of 1924. There was also a display of motorized equipment, tanks and planes recently secured from the United States under the lend-lease plan.

* * *

General Pleased Over Army Progress

General Marshall was reported as expressing satisfaction over the progress made in the modernization and training of the Mexican army. Mr. Rockefeller, who has been in Mexico several times before and is taking advantage of his present visit to confer with Mexican officials on economic problems, cultural relations and improvement of the railways, said to a press conference, speaking perfect Spanish, that he is convinced that the Good Neighbor policy has now solid foundations on both sides of the Rio Grande.

* * *

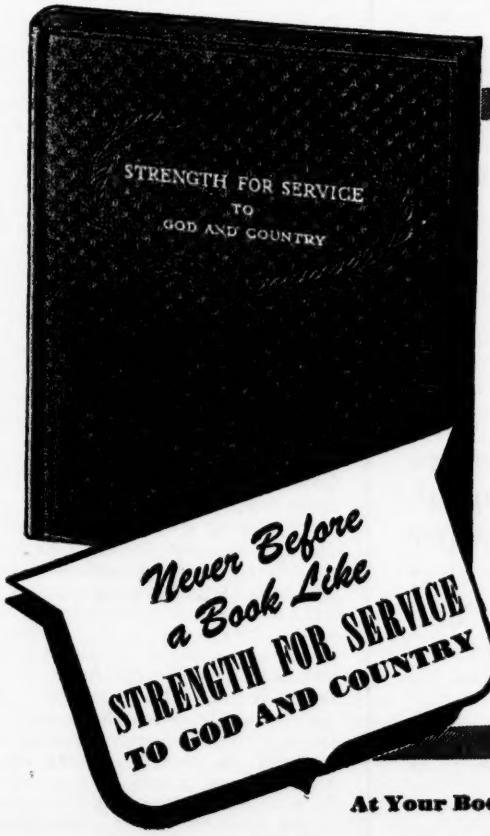
Biddle Commends Racial Equality

Attorney General Biddle, lecturing in the National Preparatory School, paid tribute to Mexico for the absence of race prejudice and discrimination. He endorsed the principle that "Mexico must be developed for the Mexicans" and, referring to Mexican-American relations, stated, "We have not always been good neighbors. However, I dare to believe that such a situation belongs to the past." Foreign Relations Secretary Padilla, at a banquet given in honor of Mr. Rockefeller, said, "Collaboration between Mexico and the United States is a hearty encouragement for all of America [meaning the whole continent] and an example for the postwar world."

* * *

Inflation Gains Ground

After a period of relative comfort, Mexico has begun to feel the economic disturbances caused by the war. The price of food, not to speak of other commodities, is a headache for housewives and a serious worry for breadwinners. In certain cases prices have trebled in the last few months, and those of imported goods are hitting the clouds. There is a grave shortage of maize, the basis of the Mexican diet. The popular feeling is that this crisis is due, more than to war itself, to monopolies, hoarding and speculation. Unscrupulous politicians are pointed to as partners in this sordid business. There is a good deal to this diagnosis,



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but another factor is black market exports of food to the United States.

* * *

Strikes Stopped and Prices Frozen

President Avila Camacho has given in rapid succession three important decrees to meet the crisis: (1) Emergency restrictions on the constitutional right to strike; (2) the freezing of prices at their present level, especially of food, clothing, soap, charcoal, gasoline, rubber, cotton, iron, steel and cement; (3) enforcement of maize cultivation on a minimum of 10 per cent of all tillable land throughout the country, with a federal subsidy to farmers.

* * *

Archbishop Criticizes U. S. Racism

Racial discrimination against Mexicans in the United States was strongly condemned by Robert E. Lucey, archbishop of San Antonio, Tex., in a press interview published here recently. Archbishop Lucey spent a short vacation in Mexico. "Usually the Mexican worker gets a very, very low salary unless he belongs to the American Federation of Labor, but from its unions colored, Mexican and Hispanic Americans in general are excluded," the archbishop is reported as saying. "I believe that most of the Mexican workers are honest and able. Many of them have achieved a technique equal to that of workers from other countries and this coincides always with the kind and humane treatment they receive."

* * *

And So Forth

The Mexico City Y.M.C.A. celebrates today its 41st anniversary.

The Reformation was commemorated in several churches during the last week in August.

G. Baez Camargo.

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War Described as Big WPA Project

Fletcher Predicts Much Unemployment After War—Negro Ministers Warn Against Sunday Cotton Picking

(Correspondence from Memphis)

Memphis, Oct. 8.—At the suggestion of its president, W. G. Gehri, the Memphis ministers' association capitalized on the Tennessee Conference of Social Work held here Oct. 5-6 to hear one of the important speakers of the conference, Dean Joseph F. Fletcher of the Cincinnati Graduate School of Applied Religion. Dr. Fletcher warned ministers to be realistic in their social service practices and pointed out what the church can do in pioneering and in prodding political and social agencies. Speaking on the economic aspect of the war, he said: "We now have so many people gainfully employed that the war has become a gigantic WPA program. When it is over, 5,000,000 may go into schools, 5,000,000 may remain in uniform and in munition making, another 5,000,000 may continue to provide foodstuffs under some kind of lend-lease plan; but we shall still be faced with millions to be geared into a peacetime economy."

* * *

Fear Effect of War On Children

Discussing "The Family in Wartime Tensions," Dr. Fletcher asked clergy and social workers to give an interpretation of the war in terms of democracy rather than in terms of military tactics, so as to lessen the conflict in children's minds over the present destruction and what they have been taught about aggressiveness. He pointed out that "absenteeism" is caused largely by mothers who "must pause at home now and then," and cited the fact that Great Britain discourages the employment of women who have children under 14. Miss Carmelite Janvier of New Orleans, who assisted in the conference, also stressed the necessity for preserving values for children in wartime. "No matter what kind of peace we make," she said, "it will be nothing if these values are not preserved. We ought to know child labor and school attendance laws and demand their enforcement as we do in housebreaking and vagrancy."

* * *

Church of God Head Dies

"Bishop" A. J. Tomlinson, colorful 78-year-old evangelist who in 1903 founded the Church of God movement at a rural church on Burger mountain in North Carolina, died at the denomination's world headquarters in Cleveland, Tenn., on Oct. 3, at the conclusion of the 38th annual assembly. He was buried from the World-Wide Assembly Tabernacle. Milton A. Tomlinson, Henderson, Ky., succeeds his father as general overseer of the movement. In 1936 the annual assembly attracted nearly 100,000 people. A few weeks ago the bishop led 2,500 members to the scene of the founding of the movement. Pilgrimage participants said that while they were there lightning struck the "witness

tree," splitting it in two except for the spot where the Church of God flag was draped about its trunk. They considered this a good omen.

* * *

Say Labor Considers Churches Hostile

Describing as an "appalling fact" a growing feeling among labor that American churches are unfriendly to the union movement, the Tennessee synod of the Presbyterian Church in session in Nashville last week called on the church to close the gap between organized Christianity and organized labor. The resolution was introduced by the committee on social and moral welfare, headed by S. E. Howie, Memphis minister, who declared that failure to win labor might change the whole course of the church's future.

* * *

Refuse to Pick Cotton On Sundays

Despite prospects of a short crop, cotton ginnings in most midsouth counties are running well ahead of last year. The U. S. employment service has distributed thousands of handbills calling on Negro schoolchildren to pick cotton on Saturdays and pointing out that Negro pastors could "fight the devil and Hitler at the same time" by holding their Sunday services at 6 a.m. and then leading their congregations to the fields to help save the cotton crop. It was stated that sacks and transportation to and from Memphis would be furnished. G. A. Long, minister of Beale Street First Baptist Church, asked his congregation to ignore the request. He also published a letter in the *Press-Scimitar* saying: "I shall preach against this request with all my power. I shall urge my people to pick on six days but not on Sunday. I am for cooperation but not at any price." The Bluff City interdenominational ministers' alliance (Negro) has come out in support of this position and several white citizens have written letters to the papers agreeing with Mr. Long's stand. The result has been that not more than 100 pickers have gone out on any Sunday. A few days after the government's request was made, a white Memphis merchant bought $10,000 worth of war bonds in honor of a Memphis Negro, Matthew Thornton, "Mayor of Beale Street."

* * *

Kern Says Methodists Are Mobilizing

At the Holston annual conference in Knoxville last week, Bishop Paul B. Kern said that 8,000,000 American Methodists will assume their responsibility in the making of a just and durable peace and will promote the mobilization of sentiment to this end by 80 regional mass meetings during January. "Isolation and self-interest are impossibilities," the bishop said, "and now we must supplement America's Declaration of Independence with a declaration of interdependence."

* * *

Evangelist Arrested for Free Speech

In Arkansas a security peace law enacted by the 1943 legislature faced its first test on Oct. 7 in Malvern. Police Chief Norwood invoked the statute in arresting C. L. Hunter, an evangelist, on charges of making speeches criticizing law enforcement officials. The evangelist was released on $300 bond after being bound over to the Hot Springs county grand jury, scheduled to meet Jan. 17. This case may become an historic one in our legal development.

* * *

And So Forth

Under the title, "The Memphis Story," the National Committee for Economic Development is presenting to the whole country the report of the Memphis committee and commending it as "an excellent example of sound organization and a pacesetter for nation-wide community effort."

A plan to relieve Memphis' acute housing shortage by having the Federal Housing Authority establish five- and ten-acre farmsteads throughout Shelby county has been advanced by Memphis real estate men, who are scoring the government's program of converting old homes into effi-

Dr. Charles Clayton Morrison, Editor, The Christian Century, welcomes the forthcoming publication of

From Victory to Peace

By PAUL HUTCHINSON

I have been on Paul Hutchinson's bones for two years to get him to write this book. He knows the world scene more intimately, and sees its complex factors of conflict and of cooperation more realistically, than any other man in the contemporary Christian church. To this political and economic knowledge he adds a profound faith in the realism of the Christian approach to the problems of civilization. Having just read the manuscript of his book, I am more than confirmed in my expectation that it will prove to be the most authoritative exposition of the responsibility of the Christian church in the postwar world that has appeared or is likely to appear. It reflects calm objectivity, keen analysis and critical disillusionment with respect to the assumed "realism" of all schemes for world order based on nationalism and power politics. Over against these it sets forth the Christian ideal as the only possible basis of peace. I wish without reservation to record the prophecy that this great book will quicken the heart and illumine the mind of the whole Christian church, and arouse it to undertake its world-wide mission when Victory confronts us with the problems of Peace.

Charles Clayton Morrison.

Chapter Titles

I. When Johnny Comes Marching Home. II. Moral Law and the Voice of Prophecy. III. The Search for a World Community. IV. Power Politics and the World Community. V. What of the Empires? VI. The Race Demon. VII. Who Shall Be Armed? VIII. On the Treatment of Enemies. IX. Hunger Means War. X. Home to the City of God.

Appendix

1. Proposals of British Church Leaders. 2. The Malvern Manifesto. 3. The Delaware Findings. 4. The Six Pillars of Peace. 5. The Princeton Messages. 6. Declaration by American Protestant, Catholic and Jewish Leaders.

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ciency apartments as "an unsound economic step."

The ministers' association will capitalize on the centenary celebration of Linden Avenue Disciples Church and hear Edgar DeWitt Jones at the regular meeting on Nov. 1.

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Chicago Subway Opened at Last

City Celebrates End of Transportation Strangle—Federation Opens Course for Pastoral Counselors

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, Oct. 18.—Chicagoans were lost in their own town today as familiar express trains shunned the elevated tracks in the Loop and began shuttling through the new subway, which opened Saturday. Gesticulating and shouting guards, in newly cleaned and tailored uniforms, were on hand to help the bewildered and almost unbelieving populace. Underground all was spick and span with gleaming marble, unprocurable chrome and flooding fluorescent light. It is hoped that the subway may help to stem the semi-paralysis and inner decay that have fallen upon Chicago in the past generation as a result of inadequate transportation. But until the Dearborn street line, now held up by war restrictions on building material although 80 per cent completed, is open, transportation congestion will continue.

* * *

Lutherans Told 'Freedom' Promises Are Hoax

Oct. 3 was a field day for Chicago Lutherans. Walter A. Maier of the Lutheran Hour opened his 11th season of this largest American religious broadcast with a rally at the Chicago Stadium before 22,000 people. Lloyd C. Douglas, novelist and former Lutheran, opened the 37th season of the Sunday Evening Club before an audience which filled Orchestra Hall. Douglas told his hearers that "there is no common denominator of belief or behavior or aspiration upon which a charter or covenant [of a better world] could be based." The men who are fighting the war, he said, are homesick for the world they left and not for a changed one. Maier told his audience that the promise of freedom from want and freedom from fear is a cruel hoax. What America needs, he said, is repentance. Just where the determination of those who seek to deliver the multitudes from want and fear differs from repentance was not made clear. Meanwhile, the United Lutherans will also have their day with a Reformation service in Orchestra Hall on Oct. 31.

* * *

Seek Large Sum for Postwar Leaders

The presence in Chicago of the two secretaries of the World Sunday School Association—Forrest L. Knapp of New York and James Kelly of Glasgow—last week gave opportunity for Chicago pastors and laymen to get a picture of the wartime work and the postwar plans of this organization. Knapp described two phases of the postwar task as the re-education of war-torn lands and the relation of Christian education to the ecumenical movement. Kelly told the story of the world Sunday school movement in establishing national interdenominational councils after the last war. At the close of the war, he said, there were no such councils on the Continent. Within three years committees were formed and within five years national councils were coming into existence. With patience and persistence, he reported, established and free churches learned to work together in all lands for the common cause of Christ and a Christian world youth. His immediate concern is to raise in England and America a fund of about $250,000 to support gifted leaders after the war in devastated countries, so that they can rebuild cooperative Christian work and re-evangelize children and youth.

* * *

Negroes Suffer from Overcrowding

The citizens' school committee has declared that the two-shift school plan, common in congested Negro areas of the city, is contributing to delinquency and truancy as well as falling far short of affording all citizens equal opportunities for education. There are 16 such double-shift schools. Two are said to be the largest public schools in the world. One of them operates all grades on double shifts, and both the Negro high schools operate on the two-shift plan. The citizens' committee calls for the use of portable buildings or the erection of adequate permanent buildings, or, preferably, the elimination of congested housing.

* * *

Federation Opens Course For Counselors

Otis Rice and Stewart Hiltner, respectively chairman and executive secretary of the Federal Council's commission on religion and health, will address the union ministers' meeting here Monday and open a three-day clinic on pastoral counseling for ministers, chaplains and all who are serving men in the armed forces stationed in and about the city. They will also inaugurate a series of Chicago church federation seminars to help ministers. This series, which runs through March 1944, is conducted in cooperation with the Chicago council of social agencies.

* * *

Presbyterians Plan To Evangelize

Thirty all-day conferences are being held in as many centers throughout the Illinois synod of the Presbyterian Church, this week and next. Pastors, Sunday school officers and teachers, elders and church officials, leaders of auxiliaries and youth organizations are being brought together in these retreats for counsel and instruction and for dedication to local and world-wide personal and social evangelism.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

Invite Canterbury To Chicago

An invitation has been cabled to William Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, to come to Chicago in 1944 as a Lenten preacher for the services which are held annually under the sponsorship of the Episcopal Church Club of the Chicago diocese. The invitation to the archbishop included these words: "Your presence alone, here in the midwestern heart of the country, will go a long way toward the manifestation of our common determination to work together for lasting peace and to liven that determination where it falters. Your visit, bringing into world focus the union of our faith, will give to the work in

this diocese and in the nation an impetus almost impossible to overestimate."

Gallagher Goes to Pacific School of Religion

Buell J. Gallagher has resigned the presidency of Talladega College, Ala., to become professor of Christian ethics at the Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, Calif. During the ten years he was president of Talladega he became known as a leading authority in the field of race relations. Arthur E. Swift also joins the faculty of the Pacific School as director of its program of training for postwar rehabilitation abroad. Other members of this faculty are Charles Stanley, coordinator of the China section, Frank Munk, coordinator of the Central European section, and Enrico Molnar, languages. William E. Hocking of Harvard gives the annual Earl lectures on Feb. 22-24, 1944.

College President to Edit Quaker Weekly

Errol T. Elliott, president of William Penn College, Oskaloosa, Iowa, is the new editor of the *American Friend*, Quaker weekly published at Richmond, Ind. Dr. Elliott succeeds Murray S. Kenworthy, who has been acting editor since the death of Walter C. Woodward. He will retain his college presidency.

Pugh Cables For More Chaplains

In a cablegram from New Delhi, India, William Barrow Pugh cables to his home office in Philadelphia asking for more Protestant chaplains for men in the armed services. He is visiting troops and chaplains on behalf of the Protestant churches and the General Commission on Army and Navy Chaplains, of which he is chairman. He also commends the work of missionaries and said he is finding "manifestations of the great ecumenical ideals everywhere."

Delete Phrase On Effect of War

The 130th annual session of the South Carolina Presbyterian synod, which met recently at Columbia, deleted from a report of the committee on social and moral Christianity the following sentence: "We cannot engage in the hellish business of killing our fellow men and ruthlessly destroying the fruits of centuries without it affecting all of life." The amended report was then approved, including the sentence: "The psychology of war arouses passions and turns the minds of people towards ideas and purposes which are not good for the moral welfare."

Indian Organized Labor Includes 269,803

Membership in unions included in the All India Trade Union Congress totaled 269,803 persons on the first of March, 1943, according to the International Labor Office in Montreal. At a leaders' meeting held then the unions asked for a wage bonus equivalent to the rise in the cost of living in India, which has worked "serious hardship" on railroad, textile, jute, tea plantation and other workers.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores

M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

Alaska Highway (Par.) *Melodrama.* Rivalry brings far-fetched adventures among engineers building highway. What might have been epic of engineering and adventure, is only in spots exciting, mostly awkward, *synthetic.* M, Y

Fired Wife (Univ.) *Comedy.* Marital strife, the result of temperamental clashes plus interest of each party in respective job. A bit of relief from doomsday-type film might be pleasant, but this is too much. *Trivial in the extreme.* M

Mystery of the 13th Chair (Mono.) *Melodrama* about weird murders set off by reading of 13-year-old will. Amateurish, *inept.*

No Escape (Mono.) John Carradine, Dean Jagger. *Melodrama.* Counterfeiter sprung from jail by nazi spies to aid them is suddenly converted to patriotic virtue, gives all to foil schemes. Involved plot, with worn theory of criminals made virtuous by association with nazis, given frequent excitement by unique setting, expert cast. *Fair of its kind.* (Sometimes billed as "I Escaped from the Gestapo.") M, Y

We've Never Been Licked (Univ.) *Melodrama* set against training program, chiefly military, at Texas A. & M.; how one boy endured opprobrium to play traitor, later turn tables on enemy. Opening sequences have authentic air, while closing scenes, utterly incredible, coincidental, are fantastic, *unconvincing.* M, Y

We Will Come Back (Artkino; Russian dialogue, English titles) *Drama.* Residents of Russian town destroy it, organize resistance to occupying enemy, harry Germans from all sides. As in most Soviet films, Russians and enemy presented in caricatured black-and-whiteness. *Convincing depiction of horrors of warfare,* with details brutal, sadistic. M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Bambi, Hit the Ice, The Human Comedy, In Which We Serve, My Friend Flicka, The Pride of the Yankees, Report from the Aleutians, Saludos Amigos, This Is the Army.

For Mature Audience: Action in the North Atlantic, Casablanca, Claudia, The Constant Nymph, Desert Victory, Five Graves to Cairo, Holy Matrimony, Mission to Moscow, The More the Merrier, The Ox-Bow Incident, Random Harvest, Shadow of a Doubt, Tennessee Johnson, This Land Is Mine, Watch on the Rhine, The Young Mr. Pitt.

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